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ANTIQUITY AND EVOLUTION OF ART IN INDIA.

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B.A. (HONS.),

Madras.

(Continued from page 314, Vol. VIII, Pt. iv.)

In the Upamitibhāvaprapañcakathā prince Nandivardhana is reported to have learnt a number of arts.

तातेनाभिहितम् 'किं परिणताः कश्चिन्नन्दिवर्धनकुमारस्य कलाः?' कलाचार्येणाभिहितम् । सुष्ठु परिणताः । देव ! निष्पन्न एव कलासु नन्दिवर्धनकुमारः । तथा हि—स्वीकृतमनेन समस्तं लिपिज्ञानम् । ....अनुचराणीव नरलक्षणादीनि आधेयविक्रयाणि पत्रच्छेद्यादीनि ।

(The last mentioned and Naralakṣaṇajñāna are closely connected with citra.) Painters were also engaged to prepare the portraits of princes and princesses of marriageable age to be sent round to various kingdoms. This activity of artists is frequently mentioned in literature. In the Kathāsaritsāgara we have many instances of such pictures being brought and one example may be cited.

वृद्धिं गतायास्तस्याश्च स पिता सदृशं वरम् ।
प्रेप्सुरानाययत् पृथ्व्यां पटेषु लिखितान् नृपान् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. XII, Taraṅga xiii, Śl. 14.

In the Tilakamañjarī Meghavāhana is described as spending his time in looking at pictures of suitable princesses brought for his inspection.

कदाचिदङ्गनालोल इति निपुणचित्रकैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपायनीकृतानि रसातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिबिम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मा दिवसमलोकयत् । T. M., p. 15.

There also appear to have been special capable women called Śilpinīs preparing and carrying pictures to lovers as given by Paṇḍarīvihvala

तत्तद्रूपगतं भावं पटे रूपं प्रदर्श्य च ।
विजानात्युभयोः प्रीतिं चतुरा शिल्पिनी यथा ॥

Dūtīkarmaprakāśa, p. 26.

In all such cases the pictures were real portraits having Sādṛśya (likeness to the original) as described in the Kathāsaritsāgara.

तद्दृष्ट्वा मन्त्रिणस्तस्य जगदुस्तां तपस्विनीम् ।
आर्ये सुन्दरसेनं त्वं देवमत्र पटे लिख ॥
सदृशालेख्यविज्ञानं तावद्वीक्षामहे तव ।
तच्छ्रुत्वैव लिलेखैतं कुमारं सा क्षणात् पटे ॥
तं चातिसदृशं दृष्ट्वा सर्वेऽप्यत्रैवमब्रुवन् ।
नास्त्यालेख्यविसंवादो भगवत्या मनागिति ॥
अयं कुमार एवेति चित्रेऽस्मिञ्जायते हि धीः ।
तन्मन्दारवतीदेवीरूपं नात्र विसंवदेत् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. XII, Taraṅga xxxiv, Śl. 79, 82.

These are very well known as Viddhacitras in the Śilpa texts and mentioned in the Tilakamañjarī many times specifically by that name.

अतोऽस्याः सकलनिजपरिवारवाराङ्गनाचित्रकौशलदर्शनव्याजेन दर्शय निसर्गसुन्दराकृतीनामवनिगोचरनरेन्द्रदारकाणां यथास्वमङ्कितानि नामभिर्यथावस्थितानि विद्धरूपाणि । T. M., p. 138.

द्वीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपहार्यमाणचित्रफलकारोपितविद्धरूपः ।
T. M., p. 133.

तत्र च त्वदुपलम्भाशया दिङ्मुखख्यातरूपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विद्धरूपाण्यादरप्रवर्तितैश्चित्रकृद्भिरभिलिख्योपनीतान्यजस्रमवलोकयतः ....मे गताः कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः । T. M., p. 263.

कदाचिदन्तिकन्यस्तविविधवर्तिकासमुद्रा प्रगुणीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः पुरोऽवस्थापिते पृथुनि चित्रफलके निपुणमालोच्यालोच्य मकरकेतुबाणव्रातविद्धा देवस्यैव रूपविद्धमभिलिखन्ती । T. M., p. 319.

The name Viddhasālabhañjikā similarly means 'Portrait Statuette.' That these pictures were done from life is gathered from the description of the prauḍhā drawing from life in the Pādatāḍitaka.

कथमियमतिकन्दुकक्रीडया मध्यमायासत्यल्पमेषा प्रियेणोपविष्टा सहाक्षैः परिक्रीडति प्रौढया चैनयैतत्स्वयं लिख्यते चित्रमाख्यायिकासौ पुनर्वाच्यते । p. 3.

In the Kathāsaritsāgara it is given that a particular figure is carved on the model of the features of a certain princess noted for her beauty whom the artist had seen and noted.

एतच्छ्रुत्वा स वेतालोऽवादीन्नैतद्दुरासदम् ।
कलिङ्गसेना नामास्ति कलिङ्गाधिपतेः सुता ॥
तां दृष्ट्वा रूपकारेण तद्रूपघटनेप्सुना ।
वर्धमानपुरीयेण कृतेयं सालभञ्जिका ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. XVIII, Taranga iv, Sl. 139-14.

When art was so popular and served such a useful purpose it is no wonder that even womenfolk specialised in it. In fact they so much excelled in beautiful line drawing that we have it given in the Viddhasālabhañjikā that a woman alone could do exquisite line work.

इदं च पौरन्ध्रमवैमि कर्म रेखानिवेशोऽत्र यदेकधारः ॥ Act. I.

Leisure hours of ladies of gentle birth were spent in the drawing and painting of their lords when they were away from home on journey or on business. This might have been to amuse themselves in the absence of their husbands or for gazing longer and more freely at the faces of their spouses in picture which they could not do in actual life because of the laws of modesty. The Rukmiṇīharaṇa-Īhāmṛga shows this useful purpose of pictures in the lines—

(ततः प्रविशति कृष्णालेख्यव्यग्रहस्ता रुक्मिणी मकरन्दिका च)

रुक्मिणी—नूनं मया जन्मान्तरे चन्द्रशेखरस्य प्रतिबिम्बमेवाराधितं यदेतस्य सुभगस्यालेख्यमात्रेणैव मां हतविधिर्विप्रतारयति । ....तदेतदेवालेख्यमवितृष्णं विभावयामि । (Act. III, In Rūpakaṣaṭka of Vatsarāja.)

which seem to echoe the speech of Mālavikā in the Mālāvikāgnimitra—

सखि ! तदा ससंभ्रममुत्कण्ठिताहं भर्तू रूपदर्शनेन तथा न वितृष्णास्मि यथाद्य विभावितश्चित्रगतदर्शनो भर्ता । Act. IV.

We have instances of ladies painting their lovers in the Nemi-nirvāṇa, the Harivilāsa, the Śṛṇgāradhanadakāvya and the Kathāsaritsāgara.

अनुरागमायतदृशः कृशेतरं
त्वयि न प्रियंवदतया वदामि तम् ।
लिखितत्वदाकृतिरनेकशस्तया
रतिवासभित्तिरपि तेऽभिधास्यति ॥

Neminirvāṇa, IX, 50.

रहसि विलिखितस्य प्राणनाथस्य चित्रे
दृढतरपरिरम्भारम्भरङ्गैकभूमिः ।
चलितचपलचक्षुर्वीक्ष्य वक्त्रं सखीनां
स्मितसुभगमुखश्रीर्लज्जते यत्र योषा ॥ Harivilāsa, V, 12.

आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा बलिव्याकुला वा
मत्सादृश्यं विरहतनु वा भावगम्यं लिखन्ती । Megha. II, Śl. 18.

आकर्णाञ्चितधन्वनः करिवरव्यापादनायोद्यतान्
विन्ध्यालेख्यमहाटवीषु मृगयोत्साहे सखीनां पतीन् ।
कोदण्डाञ्चलबद्धनिर्मदशिखिप्रस्फारपिच्छध्वजं
प्राप्तं स्वं पतिमालिलेख सुदती गर्वाज्जहासोच्चकैः ॥
Śṛṇgāradhanadaśataka, Śl. 40.

The proficiency of ordinary housewives in painting and other arts was thus very great; in fact it was so great that it was only eclipsed by the cleverness and high artistic skill of the professional adepts in art like the Citrācāryas and other painters and the prostitutes that specialised in all the fine arts—music, dance, painting etc. Of the impetus given to a cultivation of fine arts in the case of Veśyāṅganās the most eloquent authoritative evidence is in the line of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

गीतवाद्यपाठ्यनृत्तनाट्याक्षरचित्रवीणावेणुमृदङ्गपरचित्तज्ञानगन्धमाल्यसंयूहनसम्पादनसंवाहनवैशिककलाज्ञानानि गणिका दासीरङ्गोपजीविनीश्च ग्राहयतो राजमण्डलादाजीवं कुर्यात् । Vol. I., T. S. S., Chap. II, Adh. 17, Prakaraṇa 44, p. 305.

The verse in the Śṛṇgāratilaka of Rudrabhaṭṭa

सत्यं सन्ति गृहे गृहे सुकवयो येषां वचश्चातुरी
स्वे हर्म्ये कुलकन्यकेव लभते जातैर्गुणैर्गौरवम् ।
दुष्प्रापः स तु कोऽपि कोविदपतिर्यद्वाग्रसग्राहिणां
पण्यस्त्रीव कलाकलापकुशला चेतांसि हर्तुं क्षमा ॥ Śl. 7.

shows us that the harlots were adepts in all the fine arts. The fine artistic sense of the Veśyāṅganās is seen in the description of the beautiful floor decorations in the *hetaera's* house given in the Pādatāḍitaka.

.....लिप्तलिखितसूक्ष्मस्थूलविविक्तरूपशतनिबद्धानि बन्धसन्धिद्वारगवाक्षवितर्दि-संजवनवीथीनिर्व्यूहकानि ..... चित्रशालालंकृतानि ... भवनवरावतंसकानि वारमुख्यानाम् । p. 12.

In the Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda we are told that colours are being prepared (ground) for painting.

आज्ञाप्यमानशिल्पिजनानि संभ्रान्तप्रेष्यवर्गलुलितपुष्पोपहाराणि स्पर्धन्त इवान्योन्यं भवनद्वाराणि ।........पीनस्तनतटविसर्पिणः पिष्यन्ते वर्णकाः । p. 8.

(These colours were obviously used for floral decorations on breasts of women in the place of Kastūri etc.)

The Mṛcchakaṭika gives us a vivid picture of the artistic taste of Veśyāṅganās. Vasantasenā knows the art of painting. The Viṭas and Ceṭīs carry pictures of various persons whom they desire to bring together in the *hetaera's* house. The courtesans showed peculiar fondness to artists and Citrācāryas and we have an instance of this sort of love in the Pādatāḍitaka where Kusumāvatikā loves the painting master Śivasvāmin.

जानीत एवास्मत्स्वामी—'यथास्मत्सख्या कुसुमावतिकायाः प्रियवयस्यं चित्राचार्यं शिवस्वामिनं प्रति महान् मदनोन्मादः'—इति । p. 25.

Kṣemendra echoes this in his verse in the Kalāvilāsa—

नीचस्तुरगारोहो हस्तिपकः खलतरोऽथवा शिल्पी ।
वञ्चितसकलजनानां तासामपि वल्लभो भवति ॥ IV. Sl. 14.

Paintings were done generally on phalaka, paṭa or bhitti. The last mentioned was the most popular. In a passage from the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa it is given that pictures were drawn on banners as well.

अस्यां दृषदि वासुदेवः क्रियताम्, अस्यां भित्तौ कामदेवो लिख्यताम्, अत्र ध्वजे हनूमान् बध्यताम् । Vol. I, p. 394. Madras Mss.

The Yaśastilakacampū mentions similar pictures (on banners)

अतिसविधसंचरत्सुरसुन्दरीकरचापलविलुप्तकेतुकाण्डचित्रैः । Vol. I, p.18.

According to Mr. P. Brown and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy we have lots of these pictures on banners and flags lingering even today in Nepal, Tibet and other places. Even in India proper the dhvajastambhas in Hindu temples containing sculptured re-presentations of the vāhanas of the deities are concrete represent-

रहसि विलिखितस्य प्राणनाथस्य चित्रे
दृढतरपरिरम्भारम्भरङ्गैकभूमिः ।
चलितचपलचक्षुर्वीक्ष्य वक्त्रं सखीनां
स्मितसुभगमुखश्रीर्लज्जते यत्र योषा ॥ Harivilāsa, V, 12.

आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा बलिव्याकुला वा
मत्सादृश्यं विरहतनु वा भावगम्यं लिखन्ती । Megha. II, Śl. 18.

आकर्णाञ्चितधन्वनः करिवरव्यापादनायोद्यतान्
विन्ध्यालेख्यमहाटवीषु मृगयोत्साहे सखीनां पतीन् ।
कोदण्डाञ्चलबद्धनिर्मदशिखिप्रस्फारपिच्छध्वजं
प्राप्तं स्वं पतिमालिलेख सुदती गर्वाज्जहासोच्चकैः ॥
Śṛṅgāradhanadaśataka, Śl. 40.

The proficiency of ordinary housewives in painting and other arts was thus very great; in fact it was so great that it was only eclipsed by the cleverness and high artistic skill of the professional adepts in art like the Citrācāryas and other painters and the prostitutes that specialised in all the fine arts—music, dance, painting etc. Of the impetus given to a cultivation of fine arts in the case of Veśyāṅganās the most eloquent authoritative evidence is in the line of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

गीतवाद्यपाठ्यनृत्तनाट्याक्षरचित्रवीणावेणुमृदङ्गपरचित्तज्ञानगन्धमाल्यसंयूहनसम्पादनसंवाहनवैशिककलाज्ञानानि गणिका दासीरङ्गोपजीविनीश्च ग्राहयतो राजमण्डलादाजीवं कुर्यात् । Vol. I., T. S. S., Chap. II, Adh. 17, Prakaraṇa 44, p. 305.

The verse in the Śṛṅgāratilaka of Rudrabhaṭṭa

सत्यं सन्ति गृहे गृहे सुकवयो येषां वचश्चातुरी
स्वे हर्म्ये कुलकन्यकेव लभते जातैर्गुणैर्गौरवम् ।
दुष्प्रापः स तु कोऽपि कोविदपतिर्यद्वाग्रसग्राहिणां
पण्यस्त्रीव कलाकलापकुशला चेतांसि हर्तुं क्षमा ॥ Śl. 7.

shows us that the harlots were adepts in all the fine arts. The fine artistic sense of the Veśyāṅganās is seen in the description of the beautiful floor decorations in the *hetaera's* house given in the Pādatāḍitaka.

The lines of the Harṣacarita—

भीषणमहिषाधिरूढप्रेतनाथसनाथे चित्रवति पटे परलोकव्यतिकरमितरकरकलितेन शरकण्डेन कथयन्तं यमपट्टिकं ददर्श। p. 153.

and the passage in the Mudrārākṣasa

(ततः प्रविशति यमपटेन चरः ।)

चरः—

पणमह जमस्स चलणे किं कज्जं देवएहि अण्णेहिं ।
एसो खु अण्णभत्ताण हरइ जीअं जडपडन्तम् ॥

अवि अ—

पुरिसस्स जीविदव्वं विसमाहो होइ भत्तिगहिआदो ।
मारेइ सव्वलोअं जो तेण जमेण जीआमो ॥

जाव एवं गेहं पविसिअ जमपडं दंसअन्तो गीआइं गाआमि । Act I.

are among many that give us some account of the Yamapaṭa.

The details of the methods of picture production are also learnt by us through the numerous references to them in literature. Though they have been dealt with by me in detail under various other heads I shall just indicate here the outline of the working process through some typical references. First the Varṇaka or cartoon is prepared to be transferred to the regular canvas. The canvas, colours and brushes being ready, the preliminary drawing is sketched with the vartikā. In this case the sūtrapāta is all important since that preliminary rough marking decides the positions, poses and the formations of the figures that compose the picture. Then comes the colouring and the shading (vartanā) that gives the effect of modelling or relief to the figures. The final work is the unmīlana or the revivification of the figure, by opening its eyes (working of pupils etc.), which had lain lifeless so to say all the time for all practical purposes. The reference to the Varṇaka in the verse of the Āryāsaptaśatī—

कस्तां निन्दति लुम्पति कः स्मरफलकस्य वर्णकं मुग्धः ।
को भवति रत्नकण्टकममृते कस्यारुचिरुदेति ॥ Sl. 189.

is one of the many such found in literature. Similarly we have the Sūtrapāta process given in the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, Suvṛttatilaka of Kṣemendra, Śṛṅgāradhanadakāvya and the Kārṇasundarī.

अव्यक्तव्याकृती चित्रसूत्रिताविव तौ स्थितौ ।
वीक्ष्यारिकिटके लक्ष्मीं पृष्टाद्विस्मयमीयतुः ॥

Rājataraṅgṇī, VIII, 2587.

द्वितीयार्धे समस्तपरा यथा गन्दितकस्य—

करतलितबन्धं कञ्चुकं कुर्वतीनां
प्रतिफलितमिदानीं दैपमाताम्रमर्चिः ।
स्तनतटपरिणाहे भामिनीनां भविष्य-
न्नखपदलिपिलीलासूत्रपातं करोति ॥ Suvṛttatilaka, Śl. 41.

मात्रा चित्रविशेषलेखनविधावादिष्टपूर्वा चिरं
विष्णोर्जागरणोत्सवाय सुदती रेखामधादग्रतः ।
कैलासाचलगामिमानससरः स्वच्छं लिखेत्यहृता
क्रीडाशैलसरश्चकार विकसज्जाम्बूनदाम्भोरुहम् ॥

Śṛṅgāradhanadaśataka, Śl. 46.

राजा—धातुस्तन्मुखवर्तनाफलहकः श्यामावधूवल्लभ-
स्तल्लेखोद्यततूलिकाग्रगलितास्ताराः सुधाविप्रुषः ।
तल्लावण्यरसस्य शेषममला सा शारदी कौमुदी
तद्भ्रूनिर्मितिमानसूत्रमपि तच्चापं मनोजन्मनः ॥

Karṇasundarī. Act I, Śl.

In the last quoted verse we have vartanā also given. The Gāthāsaptaśatī tells us of the evanescent nature of the Vartikārekhā preliminary sketch drawn with the vartikā (pencil).

अनुरूपनायकालाभेन निर्विण्णा कापि सोपालम्भं विधिमाह—

जं जं आलिहइ मणो आसावट्टीहिं हिअअफलअम्मि ।
तं तं बालो व्व विही णिहुअं हसिऊण पम्हुसइ ॥ VIII, 56.
[यद्यदालिखति मन आशावर्तिकाभिर्हृदयफलके ।
तत्तद्बाल इव विधिर्निभृतं हसित्वा प्रोञ्छति ॥]

The process of vartanā is not so easily understood since the use of the word 'Vartanā' is itself ambiguous in literature. The Vartanā that the Viṣṇudharmottara speaks of is obviously shading. But in literature the word is used as meaning 'application' of colour. In the Vikramāṅkadevacarita, in the Karpūramañjarī and in the Udayasundarīkathā we have the word used in this sense.

यशः कूर्चिकया चित्रं दिग्भित्तिषु निविष्टया ।
द्रविडीगण्डफलके तेनावर्त्यत पाण्डिमा ॥

Vikramāṅkadevacarita, IV, Śl. 22.

कवि कखु वण्णिआओ पट्टए वहेहि
(कापि खलु वर्णिकाः पट्टे वर्तयति) Karpūramañjarī, p. 6.
त्वया हि बहुशश्चित्रेण वर्तिता दृष्टाश्च त्रिभुवनविवरवर्तिनो युवानः ।

Udayasundarīkathā, p. 100.

The meaning of the word in the verses of Ratnākara

श्लक्ष्णत्वं विरलविलेपनश्रियस्ता बिभ्रत्यो रुचिरतराङ्गवर्तनाभिः ॥
सद्रूपाः सललितनाट्यचित्रभित्तीरालोक्याभिमतजनः पुपोष तोषम् ॥
विचित्रस्थानकोपेताः सुकुमाराङ्गवर्तनाः ।
नृत्ते चित्रे च दधतीमक्षिप्तहृदयाः स्त्रियः ॥

Haravijaya, XXII, 96; XXXIII, 3.

is again ambiguous; but here it might be taken to mean shading also. Of the importance of rekhā in the picture, and in India a perfect outline is the forte of the artist, there is a lot spoken. Ratnākara holds that good line work, a most difficult task, is a rarity.

कल्याणीं गिरमुत्स्रष्टुं विरला एव जानते ।
सत्यां रेखां विलिखितुं चित्रकर्मविदो यथा ॥

Haravijaya, XXXII, 70.

Vāmana speaks of the rekhā as almost everything in a picture.

एतासु तिसृषु रीतिषु रेखास्विव चित्रं काव्यं प्रतिष्ठितमिति ।

Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti, I, ii, 13.

But, perfect modelling was also attempted in the pictures. Passages like स्खलतीव मे दृष्टिर्निम्नोन्नतप्रदेशेषु in the Śākuntala Act VI राजनीतिरिव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया दिनकरप्रभेव प्रकाशितव्यक्तनिम्नोन्नतविभागा.... चक्रवर्तिकन्यका in the Tilakamañjarī, p. 135, and निम्नोन्नतप्रदेशप्रकाशनशिल्पिनि .... यौवने सा रूपसंपन्नेदीयसी बुद्धदासी in the Yaśastilakacampū (Vol. II, p. 312) all show a high sense of modelling possessed by our artistic ancestors. Varṇasthiti or the proper arrangement of colour in particular appropriate combinations in particular places in a picture has also been stressed in the verse of Śrī Harṣa

स्थितिशालिसमस्तवर्णतां न कथं चित्रमयी बिभर्तु या ।
स्वरभेदमुपैतु या कथं कलितानल्पमुखारवा न वा ॥

Naiṣadha, II, 98.

and the gāthā of Śātavāhana

अविच्छिन्नप्रियालिङ्गनाभिलाषमात्मनः प्रकाशयन्ती काप्यन्यापदेशेन वल्लभमाह—

वण्णक्कमरहिअस्स वि एस गुणो णवरि चित्तकम्मस्स ।
णिमिसं पि जं ण मुञ्चइ पिओ जणो गाढमुवऊढो ॥

[वर्णक्रमरहितस्याप्येष गुणः केवलं चित्रकर्मणः ।
निमिषमपि यन्न मुञ्चति प्रियो जनो गाढमुपगूढः ॥]

Gāthāsaptaśatī, VII, 12.

The unmīlana process is best explained in the verse of Ratnākara

यस्याभियाति भवनेष्वसमाप्तचित्रसंभारभित्तिपुरुषा मलिनीभवन्तः ।
उन्मीलनावसरशून्यदृशः समिद्धां दध्युर्दिवानिशमिव श्रियमव्यवस्थाम् ॥

Haravijaya, XVI, 65.

U nmīlana is given by Ratnākara in another verse also

सभूमिलाभं शुभवर्तिरेखया मनोरमं मण्डलकार्यमस्खलत् ।
अशेषमुन्मीलयति क्षमाभृतां विचित्ररूपा ननु नीतितूलिका ॥

Ibid. XII. 30.

wherein we also get the spelling of Bhūlamba (arrangement of background) of the Viṣṇudharmottara given as Bhūlābha. It is from the same poet that we get at the importance of Sthānaka in a picture which connects citra closely with Nāṭya.

विचित्रस्थानकोपेताः सुकुमाराङ्गवर्तनाः ।
नृत्ते चित्रे च दधतीरक्षिप्तहृदयाः स्त्रियः ॥ XXXII. 3.

Practice is all important in producing a good picture and we have exhortations for artists to work hard and gain a perfect mastery over the brush or chisel as the case may be. The verse of the Dharmaśarmābhyudaya

निर्माय निर्माय पुरीः सुराणां यच्छिक्षितं शिल्पकलासु दाक्ष्यम् ।
तस्यैव धात्रा विहितास्ति तत्र प्रकर्षसीमा नगरी सुसीमा ॥ IV, 13.

and of the Vikramāṅkadevacarita

नित्याभ्यासात् परिणतलिपेः स्रष्टुराश्चर्यलेखं
तल्लावण्यं वपुषि ललिते तस्य भूपालसूनोः ।

यत्र स्फूर्जल्लुटभललनालोकलोभैकपात्रे
जागर्ति ज्यानिनदमुखरः संततं पुष्पचापः ॥ XVIII, 69.

are all in this strain. The best artists with an excellent practice could produce works of art that were eyed with wonder even by art critics and connoisseurs. Expression of emotion in picture and such other difficult problems engaged the painter. The Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā says that representation of emotions in picture is most difficult.

अत्र 'सुविशुद्धा रेखा, संगतानि भूषणानि, उचितक्रमा वर्णविच्छित्तिः, परिस्फुटो भावातिशयः'—इति । दुष्करं च चित्रे भावाराधनम्, तदेव चाभिमतमतिविदग्धानाम् । p. 86.

Pictures were drawn with such care and exactitude that they were suggestive of many things. Just as in the Viddhaśālabhañjikā we have the picture of the princess suggesting to the king that it was the portrait of an unmarried girl from the arrangement of the figure, its dress and so on we have a picture described in the Daśakumāracarita wherein the clever painter suggests a lot about the painted lady.

स चैकदा कस्यचिदागन्तोश्चित्रकरस्य हस्ते चित्रपटं ददर्श । तत्र काचिदालेख्यगता युवतिरालोकमात्रेणैव कलहकण्टकस्य कामातुरं चेतश्चकार । स च तमब्रवीत्—'भद्र ! विरुद्धमिवैतत् प्रतिभाति ; यतः कुलजादुर्लभं वपुः, आभिजात्यशंसिनी च नम्रता, पाण्डरा च मुखच्छविः, अनतिपरिभुक्तसुभगा च तनुः, प्रौढतानुविद्धा च दृष्टिः । न चैषा प्रोषितभर्तृका प्रवासचिह्नस्यैकवेण्यादेरदर्शनात् । लक्ष्म चैतद्दक्षिणपार्श्ववर्ति । तदियं वृद्धस्य कस्यचिद्वणिजो नातिपुंस्त्वस्य यथार्हसंभोगालाभपीडिता गृहिणी त्वयातिकौशलाद्यथादृष्टमालिखिता भवितुमर्हति'—इति । स तमभिप्रशस्याशंसत्—'सत्यमिदम् । अवन्तिपुर्यामुज्जयिन्यामनन्तकीर्तिनाम्नः सार्थवाहस्य भार्या यथार्थनामा नितम्बवती नामैषा सौन्दर्यविस्मितेन मयैवमालिखिता'—इति ।

Uttarapīṭhikā, Ucchvāsa, VI, p. 167, Kale's edition.

Another feature in a picture very much admired and sought to be retained permanently by painters in the painting is *aujjvalya*. Kālidāsa speaks highly of 'pratyagravarṇarāga'. The Yaśastilaka-campū gives that pictures rubbed after being drawn lose their lustre—

आलिख्य परामृष्टं चित्रमिव गलितच्छायम्। Vol. II, p. 146.

but there also appear to have been pictures drawn in better colours with a greater permanency of lustre that increased when rubbed but was never lost as given in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa.

विदूषकः—...अविधा आलिखितं खलु मम मोदकमल्लकं संतापतिमिरेण सुष्ठु न प्रेक्षे। भवतु प्रमार्जिष्यामि तावदहम्। ही ही! साधु रे! चित्रकर! भाव! साधु! युक्तलेखतया वर्णानां यथा प्रमार्ज्मि तथा तथोज्ज्वलतरं भवति। भवतु उदकेन प्रमार्जिष्यामि। कुत्र खलूदकम्। इदं शोभनं शुद्धतटाकम्। अहमिव शिवोऽपि तावत् एतस्मिन् मोदकमल्लके निराशो भवतु। Act II.

Even these pictures could be destroyed by an application of water—since all these were painted in tempera. Vāmana lays very great stress on *aujjvalya* and holds that Purāṇacchāyā in pictures is a distinct blot.

बन्धस्योज्ज्वलत्वं नाम यदसौ कान्तिरिति। यदभावे पुराणच्छायेत्युच्येते।
औज्ज्वल्यं कान्तिरित्याहुर्गणं गुणविशारदाः।
पुराणचित्रस्थानीयं तेन वन्ध्यं कवेर्वचः॥

Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti, III, i, 25.

We have also some descriptions in literature of faded pictures on broken walls with the layers crumbling and falling off every moment and cobwebs sorrounding them as also of neglected and broken statuettes, etc. The description of deserted Ayodhyā in the Raghuvaṁśa from which a few lines can be quoted—

चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालभङ्गाः।
नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरब्धसिंहप्रहृतं वहन्ति॥
स्तम्भेषु योषित्प्रतियातनानामुत्क्रान्तवर्णक्रमधूसराणाम्।
स्तनोत्तरीयाणि भवन्ति सङ्गान्निर्मोकपट्टाः फणिभिर्विमुक्ताः॥

Raghuvaṁśa, VII, 16-17.

and of the wasted city of the ogress Tāṭakā in the Jānakīharaṇa contained in the lines

फणिभिः प्रतिबिम्बमातरः शितिभिर्भान्ति शिरोऽवलम्बिभिः।
रचितैरिव वेणिबन्धनैर्विरहादस्य पुरस्य शासितुः॥
प्रतिमा विशदेन लूतिकापटलेनावृतदृष्टिरीक्ष्यते।
रुदितैरिव पुष्पितेक्षणा विपुलत्रासकृतैरनेकशः॥

श्लथभित्तिविरूढभूरुहस्थिरमूलाग्रविनिर्गमक्षतम् ।
स्फुटतीव भृशं शुचातुरं हृदयं यद्गृहचित्रयोषिताम् ॥
नकुलः परिजीर्णवैबुधप्रतिबिम्बाननमध्यरन्ध्रतः ।
परिकर्षयति क्रुधा यथा स्फुरितं तद्रसनं सरीसृपम् ॥ IV, 54,56 to 58.

are splendid examples.

In spite of exhortations addressed to people to learn the various arts at least as hobbies which would help in some emergency—as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas in Virāṭanagara—embodied in verses like the one of Kṣemendra—

आपत्कालोपयुक्तासु कलासु स्यात् कृतश्रमः ।
नृत्तवृत्तिर्विराटस्य किरीटी भवनेऽभवत् ॥ Cārucaryā, 72.

we have a number of people ignorant of art and art appreciation. A graphic picture of the way hunters—perfect boors in art appreciation—appreciate paintings is found in the humourous verse of the Śṛṅgāratilaka of Rudrabhaṭṭa

त्यक्त्वा गुञ्जफलानि मौक्तिकमयी भूषा स्तनेष्वाहिता
स्त्रीणां कष्टमिदं कृतं सरसिजं कर्णे न बर्हिच्छदम् ।
इत्थं नाथ तवारिधाम्नि शबरैरालोक्य चित्रस्थितिं
बाष्पार्द्रीकृतलोचनैः स्फुटरवं दारैः समं हस्यते ॥ p. 145. (K. M.)

As a contrast to these there are the excellent art critics well versed in the science or theory of art and in the practice of it. A study of the Citrasūtra was compulsory in the case of all art students as we see from the verse of the Kuṭṭinīmata.

भरतविशाखिलदन्तिलवृक्षायुर्वेदचित्रसूत्रेषु ।
पत्रच्छेदविधाने भ्रमकर्मणि पुस्तसूदशास्त्रेषु ॥
आतोद्यवादनविधौ नृत्ते गीते च कौशलं तस्याः ॥ 124-5.

This Citrasūtra might be the same as the Citrasūtra in the Viṣṇudharmottara. The conception of Tvaṣṭā, that we saw in the Vedas, was ever fresh in the minds of the Śilpins and he was taken as the model for all to copy as seen in the line of the Yaśastilakacampū त्वष्टकिरिव चित्रकर्मसु (Vol. I, p. 237). Though no book on art written by Tvaṣṭā is available, books by Maya and Viśvakarmā are amongst the popular books on art and architecture. The Yaśastilaka quotes from a book on art by Prajāpati—

प्रजापतिप्रोक्ते च चित्रकर्मणि—

श्रमणं तैललिप्ताङ्गं नवभिर्भित्तिभिर्युतम् ।

यो लिखेत् स लिखेत् सर्वां पृथ्वीमपि ससागराम् ॥ Vol. II, p. 112.

but unfortunately like many other books that are lost to us this book lingers in its mere name. The great passion for art was such in the case of the excellent art critics who drank deep at the fountain of art knowledge that we have instances as in the case of Cārudatta where admiration is expressed even for an artistic hole created in the wall by a burglar.

Apart from citras on bhittis, phalakas, paṭas etc. we have had the Bhaumika-citras of a momentary nature drawn everyday with colour powders on the floors, etc. These Kṣaṇika-citras have been dealt with in detail in the Nārada Śilpa. In the Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā the verandahs of the Jain temple are described as filled with such patterns and designs of Raṅgoli.

विचित्रभक्तिविन्यासैर्गन्धोद्धुरसुवर्णकैः ।

आकीर्णं प्राङ्गणं माल्यैः कलालिकुलगीतिभिः ॥ Prastāva, I, 43.

These, the modern Raṅgolis (known by that name in Bombay Presidency), were known as Rangavallīs and are frequently mentioned in literature.

अकालक्षेपं दक्षस्व रङ्गवल्लिप्रदानेषु । Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 350.

विविधमणिविन्यासविहितबहुरूपाकृते रङ्गस्यावलोकनाद्भीतभूपालबालकाकुलितसौविदल्लम् । Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 371.

रङ्गवल्लिषु परभागकल्पनम् । Yaśatilaka, Vol. II, p. 247.

मन्त्रिचोलाञ्चलसंमार्जनेन भज्यमानरङ्गावलिः ॥

Udayasundarīkathā, p. 39.

In the Mṛcchakaṭika there is a description of the process of Raṅgoli.

विदूषकः—अहो ! सलिलसिक्तमार्जितकृतहरितोपलेपनस्य, विविधसुगन्धिकुसुमोपहारचित्रलिखितभूमिभागस्य....वसन्तसेनाभवनद्वारस्य सश्रीकता ।

Act, IV.

Mosaicking the floor was also well-known and it was permanent Raṅgoli.

चरणनखस्फुरितेन रङ्गवल्लिमणीनिवासहमानया ।

Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 24.

Lettering which today engages the attention of many a commercial artist was also a subject of study with the artists in Ancient India. Their idea of lettering is well borne out by the numerous descriptions of artistic letter forms in literature. In the Vasantavilāsamahākāvya we have the letter ॐ described, as composing an artistic form, on lines similar to Śrī Harṣa's description of the same letter in his Naiṣadhīyacarita.

लिलेखिषुः सृष्टिलिपिं विधाता मूर्तिं निजां कुण्डलिनीं विधाय ।
यन्निर्ममे बिन्दुमिवेन्दुमौलिर्दैत्यारिमूर्ती च तदस्तरेखा ॥

Vasantavilāsa, I, 43.

There is another artistic description of the inverted form of the letter ठ in the same book.

यद्वप्रमौलौ कपिशीर्षमाला मान्त्री ठकारालिरधोमुखीव । *Ibid*. II, 43.

The Āryāsaptaśatī describes flower-like patterns of letters (drawn like leaves patrākṛti).

पूर्वनायिकासखीं प्रति नायको वक्ति—
निहितायामस्यामपि सैवैका मनसि मे स्फुरति ।
रेखान्तरोपधानात् पत्राक्षरराजिरिव दयिता ॥ 337.

Thus we have a rich art spirit pervading and permeating the land. Paintings and drawings were not the only products of the artists' activity. Sculpture was at the zenith of perfection. Architecture was likewise progressing. In fact it is only as handmaids of architecture that painting and sculpture have developed and shone in any part of the world; and the case has not been different in India. Bhuvaneśvara, Ellora, Mahābalipura, Elephanta, Tanjore and Madura are common household words connoting the best of India's art. But that is not all. Allied arts like ivory work, woodcarving and the rest were equally practised with efficiency. A portion of the Sānchi tope was in fact carved by the ivory workers of Bhilsa (Vidiśā) as we learn from the inscription there. Vāmana records likewise in his Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti that gemwork was cleverly done and figures of gods were cut in them according to the intaglio process.

देवीभावं गमिता परिवारपदं कथं भजत्येषा ।
न खलु परिभोगयोग्यं दैवतरूपाङ्कितं रत्नम् ॥ IV, iii, 2,

Such has been the interest and activity in art; and it is all the more sorrowful for us at the present day to see the depths of degradation to which art has descended in India—especially when we remember that she held the most commanding and towering place in the sphere of world culture spreading new knowledge in countries far and wide about her as in China and Japan; it is to be hoped that bright and golden days for her glorious art, suffering from a temporary eclipse through lethargy on the part of its custodians, would dawn ere long, free her from her shakles and make stalwarts of her somnolent votaries, great and honoured men in the sphere of world's art.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EASTERN CĀḶUKYAS

BY

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In the course of my studies on Cāḷukyan history[1], I have felt that the system of chronology put forward by Dr. Fleet nearly fifty years ago is susceptible of improvement in the light of fresh data now available. Dr. Fleet worked at this chronology with the aid of the grants mentioned below, which supply some astronomical details for calculation.

(i) The Satāra grant[2] of Viṣṇuvardhana I, issued in the 8th year of his brother Pulakēśin II, on the full-moon day of Kārtika (in Śaka 589: A. D. 617, Oct. 20).

(ii) The Cīpurupalli plates,[3] also of Viṣṇuvardhana I, issued in his 18th year, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, on the full-moon day.

(iii) The Rēyūru grant[4] of Viṣṇuvardhana II, grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana I, which says that the king, in his second year, made a gift, on Wednesday, the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra, when the Moon was in Maghā nakṣatra.

(iv) The Maṭṭewāḍa plates,[5] also of Viṣṇuvardhana II, which record a gift, made by the king in his fifth year, on the occasion of a Solar eclipse, on the new-moon day in the month of Phālguna.

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1. Bhārati. Vol. II, nos. 3, 4, 7 and 9; Vol. III, no. 12.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 309 ff.
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 16 ff.
4. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 186 ff.
5. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 191 ff.

(v) The Maliyaṁpūṇḍi grant[1] of Amma II Vijayāditya. This grant supplies the interesting information that the king was crowned in Śaka 867, on Thursday, the 13th tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa, in Maitra (Anūrādha)nakṣatra, while the sun was in Dhanus, in Ghaṭa lagna (A. D. 945, Nov. 20th Thursday).

Even though there are thus sufficient data, the above records are not by themselves enough to fix the chronology of this dynasty, unless the period of rule of each king is separately known. Fortunately for us, the Eastern Cāḷukya grants supply this datum. When Dr. Fleet worked at this problem, the grants that supplied this information were those of Amma I and his successors. The highly incompatible nature of the recorded lengths of the reigns, and the dates of the grants of Viṣṇuvardhana I and Viṣṇuvardhana II, calculated from the data supplied by them, can well be seen when we calculate backwards from the coronation date of Amma II or forwards from A. D. 617, the 8th year of Pulakēśin II, under whom Viṣṇuvardhana I was *Yuvarāja*. Thus, the reader may gain some idea of the difficulty, under which Dr. Fleet had striven to adjust all these imcompatibilities and finally settle the chronology. While fixing A.D. 615, as the first year of the rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I, Dr. Fleet had remarked thus : "The historical event, which gave this starting point was the installation of Viṣṇuvardhana I, not as the *Mahārāja* or the independent ruler of a separate kingdom but as *Yuvarāja*, associated in the government, with his elder brother Pulakēśin II"[2]. Thus he was of opinion that the period of 18 years' rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I, should be computed, not from the time he began to rule over Vēṅgi independently, but from the time he was installed as the *Yuvarāja*. Dr. Fleet had to postulate thus for the sake of adjustment. Even then there were many chronological difficulties that confronted him at each and every step in his argument.

Recently, the Attili copper plate grant[3] of Cāḷukya Bhīma I has come to light. The importance of this grant cannot be over-estimated, in as much as it supplies the coronation date of that king, Śaka 814 (Mēṣa, Caitra, badi. 2, Monday, Maitra),

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 147 ff.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 5.
3. C. P. no. 14 of 1917-18.

i.e., 892 A.D., besides giving the duration of the rule of the several previous kings of this dynasty. This is the earliest of the Eastern Cāḷukya grants that supply the coronation date. The late Mr. K. V. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, M.A., edited this grant in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,[1] in English and in the Journal of the Telugu Academy,[2] in Telugu. While doing so, he has given the dates of the different kings, calculating back from A.D. 892, the periods of their reigns, as given in this grant. His dates are given below :

(1)	Viṣṇuvardhana I	...	A.D. 616—634
(2)	Jayasiṁha	...	634—667
(3)	Indravarma	...	—
(4)	Viṣṇuvardhana II	...	667—676
(5)	Maṅgiyuvarāja	...	676—701
(6)	Jayasiṁha II	...	701—714
(7)	Kokkili	...	714
(8)	Viṣṇuvardhana III	...	714—751
(9)	Vijayāditya I	...	751—770
(10)	Viṣṇuvardhana IV	...	770—806
(11)	Vijayāditya II	...	806—846
(12)	Viṣṇuvardhana V	...	846—848
(13)	Vijayāditya III	...	848—892
(14)	Cāḷukya Bhīma (crowned in)	...	892

Even though A.D. 616 thus becomes the initial date of Viṣṇuvardhana I, Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao takes 615 as the first year of his rule as an independent sovereign, as against the view of Dr. Fleet. Neither his view nor his dates can be upheld for the reason, that the Satāra grant of Viṣṇuvardhana I clearly tells us that he was still a *Yuvarāja* in the 8th year of Pulakēśin II. Now it is more or less accepted that Pulakēśin II came to the throne in A.D. 610-11.[3] Then his 8th year would be 617-18. Even if we accept Dr. Fleet's date for the Satāra grant, either 616 or 617, Viṣṇuvardhana I could not have been an independant king in 615. Besides this, grants Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of the list given above and the Cendalūr plates[4] of Sarvalōkāśraya, *i.e.*, Maṅgi-

1. Vol. VIII, p. 82 ff.
2. Vol. VI, p. 246 ff.
3. G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu's Commemoration Vol., p. 97; Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan, p. 87; C. V. Vaidya's Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. I, p. 265.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 236 ff.

yuvarāja, of his 2nd year, all of which supply some details for calculation, as has been noticed above, should be taken into account. The dates 634, the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I, 669 and 682, the 2nd and 5th years of Viṣṇuvardhana II respectively and finally 678, the 2nd year of Maṅgi-yuvarāja do not at all satisfactorily answer the details, furnished by the above-mentioned grants. Hence this scheme does not work. Similarly, the whole scheme of Eastern Cāḷukya chronology, laboriously built up by Dr. Fleet so as to accomadate the dates corresponding to the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I, the 2nd and 5th years of Viṣṇuvardhana II gets disturbed and deranged if A.D. 888, the initial date[1] given by him to Cāḷukya Bhīma I is rejected, in view of his coronation date 892, supplied by the Attili grant. Hence, a fresh of attempt at resettlement of the Eastern Cāḷukya chronology is a necessity.

II

Before proceeding further, let us know the length of each reign, as stated by the Eastern Cāḷukya grants. This kind of enumeration in years of the length of each reign begins from Vijayāditya III, son of Kali-Viṣṇuvardhana V, the twelfth king of this line. He it was who, after going through the imperial records, made a list of kings that preceded him and noted down their periods of rule in his grants. Thus he states in his Sātalūr grant:[2]

एवं पञ्च विष्णुवर्धननामानः द्वौ जयसिंहनामानः एको मंगियुवराजः त्रयो विजयादित्यनामानः (ll 27—28).

Curiously enough there are discrepancies in the duration of some of the reigns even in his own grants,[3] which cannot be accounted for. No wonder such differences are found also

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 12.
2. Bhārati., Vol. I, p. 90 ff.
   Jour. Andh. His. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 101 ff.
3. Bhārati., Vol. I, p. 94.
   Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 104.
   The periods given in the Pāmulapāḍu and Uruṭūru plates (C. P. no. 5 of 1912-13; Jour. Tel. Acad., Vol. 1, p. 140 ff.) tally with one another but differ from those given in the Sātalūr plates. The periods given in the Guṇṭūr plates (C. P. no. 5 of 1911-12) differ from those given in the Sātalūr plates as well as the Pāmulapāḍu and the Uruṭūru plates.

in the grants of his successors, Cāḷukya Bhīma I, Amma I and others. Such differences exist in the case of six reigns, namely of (1) Jayasiṁha Vallabha I, (2) Viṣṇuvardhana III, (3) Vijayāditya I, (4) Viṣṇuvardhana IV, (5) Vijayāditya II and (6) Kali Viṣṇuvardhana V. The length of reign of each Cāḷukya king is noted down below, along with its variations :

(1)	Viṣṇuvardhana I	... 18 years		
(2)	Jayasiṁhavallabha I[1]	... 33 years	30 years	
(3)	Indrabhaṭṭāraka	... 7 days		
(4)	Viṣṇuvardhana II	... 9 years		
(5)	Maṅgi-yuvarāja	... 25 years		
(6)	Jayasiṁhavallabha II	... 13 years		
(7)	Kokkili	... 6 months		
(8)	Viṣṇuvardhana III	... 35 years[2]	37 years	
(9)	Vijayāditya I	... 18 years[3]	19 years	
(10)	Viṣṇuvardhana IV	... 35 years[4]	36 years	
(11)	Vijayāditya II	... 40 years[5]	41 years[6]	48 years[7]

1. All the Eastern Cāḷukya grants assign 33 years to Jayasiṁha I with the exception of the British Museum plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 15 ff.) of Amma II which give him 30 years of rule.

2. Only Sātalūr plates assign this period to Viṣṇuvardhana III, whereas all other Eastern Cāḷukya grants give him 37 years of rule.

3. All the grants give him a period of rule of 18 years except the Uruṭūru, Pāmulapāḍu, Guṇṭūru and Pōṇaṅgi plates of Vijayāditya III and the Attili and the Madras Museum plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, which assign him a period of 19 years.

4. The Sātalūr plates alone give him 35 years of rule.

5. The Sātalūr plates and the Guṇṭūr plates of Vijayāditya III; all the copper-plate grants so far discovered of Cāḷukya Bhīma I; the Masulipatam plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. V, p. 131 ff) and the Kōlavennu plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma II (S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 43 ff.) ; the Nammūru grant of Amma II (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 61 ff.) assign him this period.

6. The Uruṭūru, the Pāmulapāḍu and the Pōṇaṅgi plates of Vijayāditya III.

7. The Digumarṟu grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213), and the Masulipatam plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 134 ff.) of Cāḷukya Bhīma II and all other Eastern Cāḷukya copper plate grants.

(12)	Viṣṇuvardhana V	... $1\frac{1}{2}$ years[1]	$1\frac{2}{3}$ years	
(13)	Guṇaga Vijayāditya III	... 44 years		
(14)	Yuvarāja Vikramāditya I			
(15)	Cāḷukya Bhīma I	... 30 years		
(16)	Vijayāditya IV	... 6 months		
(17)	Ammarāja I	... 7 years		
(18)	Vijayāditya V	... 6 months		
(19)	Tāḍapa	... 1 month		
(20)	Vikramāditya II	... 1 year[2]	11 months[3]	9 months
(21)	Bhīma	... 8 months[4]		
(22)	Yuddhamalla	... 7 years		
(23)	Cāḷukya Bhīma II	... 12 years		
(24)	Amma II Vijayāditya VI	25 years		
(25)	Dānārṇava	... 3 years		
(26)	Bādapa } (Period of	27 years		
(27)	Tāḍapa II } anarchy)			
(28)	Śaktivarma I	... 12 years		
(29)	Vimalāditya	... 7 years		
(30)	Rāja Rāja I	... 40 years		
(31)	Śaktivarma II	... 1 year		
(32)	Vijayāditya VII	... 15 years		
(33)	Rājēndra Cōḍa alias Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa	...		

Having thus definitely known the period of rule of different kings — one of the essential factors that helps us in our attempt —, let us now proceed to consider the chronology. There are certain dates which serve as landmarks, in the Eastern Cāḷukya chronology. They are the coronation dates of Cāḷukya

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1. All grants give him one and a half years of rule except the Guṇṭūr, the Uruṭūru and the Pōṇaṅgi plates of Vijayāditya III which state that he ruled for one year and eight months.

2. The Kōlavennu plates (S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 43 ff.) of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, and the Maliyampūṇḍi, the Guṇḍugolanu, the Masulipatam, the Vāṇḍram, the Vēmulūrpāḍu, the Nammūru, and the Madras Museum plates of Amma II.

3. All other grants give him 11 months; but only the Kalucumbarru grant (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 177 ff.) of Amma II states that he ruled for 9 months.

4. The Digumarru grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213) of Cāḷukya Bhīma II is the only Eastern Cāḷukya record that mentions this Bhīma and assigns him this period.

Bhīma[1], of Amma II Vijayāditya,[2] of Vimalāditya[3], of Rāja Rāja I,[4] of Vijayāditya VII[5] and finally of Śaktivarman II,[6] son of Vijayāditya VII and the date denoted by the chronogram 'Svādita', supplied by the Madras Museum plates[7] of Viṣṇuvardhana III.

Of these, the earliest definite date is that of Viṣṇuvardhana III, known by the chronogram 'Svādita'. What date does this chronogram denote ?

There are three sysems of notation, by which numerals are expressed by words, one is that used by Āryabhaṭa, in his astronomical works, the second is the chronogram system commonly in use in South India and the third is the letter system.[8] The system of Āryabhaṭa is confined only to his works. It was never in common use, at least in inscriptions, to express dates. The chronogram system appears to have been popular. Dates in inscriptions also were expressed, though rarely by this method. In this system, each of the thirty three consonants have numerical values as shown below :

1.	ka	ṭa	pa	ya
2.	kha	ṭha	pha	ra
3.	ga	ḍa	ba	la
4.	gha	ḍha	bha	va
5.	ṅa	ṇa	ma	śa
6.	ca	ta	...	ṣa
7.	cha	tha	...	sa
8.	ja	da	...	ha
9.	jha	dha	...	
0.	ña	na		

When double letters are used, the value of the second letter only should be taken into consideration. The third system of numerical notation, with many varieties, is used only to number the pages of a manuscript, and hence it may be left out of consideration.

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1. C. P. no. 14 of 1917-18;
   Jour. Bi. Or. Res. Soc. Vol. VIII, p. 82 ff.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 15 ff.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 347 ff.
4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 50 ff.
5. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 277 ff.
6. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 33 ff.
   C. P. no. 8 of 1913-14.
7. C. P. no. 9 of 1916-17.
8. The South Indian Paleography, p. 79

Thus, by the second system of notation, 'Svādita' (second letter va = 4, di = 8, ta = 6) denotes Śaka 684.[1] This year should either be the initial or the last year of Viṣṇuvardhana III or at least should fall in between these two years.

The next definite and nearest year known is the coronation date of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, *i.e.*, Śaka 814. The subject resolves itself into four sections; one from the initial date of Viṣṇuvardhana I to Śaka 684, the date of Viṣṇuvardhana III, the second from Viṣṇuvardhana III to the coronation date of Cāḷukya Bhīma I; the third from the initial date of Cāḷukya Bhīma I to the accession of Ammarāja II and the fourth from the initial year of Ammarāja II to the coronation date of Rāja Rāja I.

III

Let us take stock of all the material we have to-day to settle the chronology of this dynastly on a firmer basis. So far nearly 70 or 80 copper plate grants of this dynasty have been discovered — not to speak of stone inscriptions. Almost all these inscriptions record grants, made on the occasion of either a lunar or a solar eclipse or a saṁkrānti. Most of the grants do not give any details in date, except stating the occasion. Out of these grants, those that furnish us with details for calculation are very few, when compared with the total number, but they are now more numerous than when Dr. Fleet worked at this problem. A list of such copper plate inscriptions, along with the details they supply, is given below, in a tabular form. Those grants that merely state the occasion without giving any details, other than the regnal year are not included in this list.

Serial No.	King's name.	Grant.	Reg. year.	Astronomical details.
1	Pulakēśin II (Viṣṇuvardhana I)	Satāra grt.[2]	8th	Kārtika Śu. di. 15
2	Pulakēśin II	Kopparam pts.[3]	21st	Kārtika mahānavami
3	Viṣṇuvardhana I	Cīpurupalli grt.[4]	18th	Śrāvaṇa Śu. di. 15, Lunar eclipse

1. The Govt. Ep. Rep. for 1917, p. 116, para 21.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 309 ff.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.
4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 16 ff.

Serial No.	King's name.	Grant.	Reg. year.	Astronomical details.
4	Jayasiṁha I	Pedavēgi pts.[1]	..	Kārtika paurṇamī, Viṣuvadina
5	Viṣṇuvardhana I	Rēyūru grt.[2]	2nd	Caitra Śu. di. 10, Maghā, Wednesday
	,, ,,	Maṭṭewāḍa pts.[3]	5th	Phālguna amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse
	,, ,,	Pamiḍimukkalapts[4]	..	Kārtika Śu. di. 15, Lunar eclipse
6	Maṅgi yuvarāja	Cendalūr pts.[5]	2nd	Vaiśākha Śu. di. 15, Lunar eclipse
7	Jayasiṁha II	Peṇukaparu grt.[6]	..	Jyēṣṭha paurṇamī, Saṁkrānti
8	Viṣṇuvardhana III	Madras Museum pts.[7]	..	'Svādita', Mārgaśira ba. di. 12
9	Cāḷukya Bhīma I	Attili grt.[8]	..	Ś. 814, Caitra ba. di. 2, Monday, Sun in Meṣa and Moon in Maitra (Anūrādhā). —(Coronation date)
10	Amma II Vijayāditya	Br. Museum pts.[9]	..	Ś. 897, Mārgaśira ba. di. 13. Friday, Maitra Sun in Dhanus, Kumbhalagna (Coronation date)
11	Vimalāditya	Ranastipūṇḍi grt.[10]	..	Ś. 933, Sun in Vṛṣabha Śu. di. 6, Thursday, Puṣya, Siṁhalagna
12	Rāja Rāja I	Kōrumilli grt.[11]	..	Ś. 944, Siṁhamāsa, ba. di. 2, Thursday, Uttarābhādrā, Tulālagna

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 258 ff.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 186 ff.
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 191 ff.
4. C.P. no. 14 of 1916-17.
5. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 236 ff.
6. Bhārati, Vol. I, No. 10, p. 139 ff. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 313 ff.
7. C. P. no. 9 of 1916-17.
8. C. P. no. 14 of 1917-18; Jour. Bi. Or. Res. Soc., Vol. VIII, p. 82 ff.
9. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 15 ff.
10. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 347 ff.
11. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 50 ff.

Serial No.	King's name.	Grant.	Reg. year.	Astronomical details.
13	Vijayāditya VII	Pāmulavāka pts.[1]	..	Ś. 952, Sun in Karkaṭaka. Śu. di. 5, Sunday.
14	Śaktivarma II	Tel. Acad. pts.[2]	..	Ś. 983, Sun in Tulā, Śu. di. 2, Thursday, Anūrādhā Kuṁbhalagna

Now the problem is to fit these data on the duration of the reigns and on particular dates in some of the reigns into a satisfactory scheme.

The Eastern Cāḷukya chronology begins with the initial year of rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I over Vēṅgi. It is to be borne in mind that at least some of the Eastern Cāḷukya Copper plate grants[3] unequivocally state that Viṣṇuvardhana I ruled over Vēṅgi for 18 years. Taking these into account, the commencement of Viṣṇuvardhana's rule over Vēṅgi is now to be determined.

The first record of Viṣṇuvardhana, known to us, is his Satāra grant, issued in the 8th year of Pulakēśin II, *i.e.*, according to Dr. Fleet, in A. D. 617. At the time of this grant, he was holding a subordinate position under his brother as *Yuvarāja*. Dr. Fleet, when formulating his scheme, could not reconcile the two facts, mentioned above, namely, the 18 years' rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I and the date of his Satāra grant. Hence he tried to cross over the difficulty with the remark that the historical event, which gave this starting point was the installation of Viṣṇuvardhana I, not as the *Mahārāja* or the independent ruler of a separate kingdom but as *Yuvarāja*, associated in the government with his elder brother Pulakēśin II.[4] Thus in Dr. Fleet's opinion, this period of 18 years' rule should be calculated from the time of Viṣṇuvardhana's anointment as crown prince, which is contrary to what is stated in the Eastern Cāḷukya grants. The

1. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 277 ff.
2. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 33 ff.
   C. P. no. 8 of 1913-14.
3. Digumarru grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma II (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213 ff.) ; Pennēru grant of Śaktivarma I (Elliot's collection, No. 15-6-26, p. 348 ff.).
4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 5.

view of Dr. Fleet cannot be accepted to be correct, as it does not satisfactorily reconcile the two propositions, made in the beginning.

By Dr. Fleet's chronology, it is to be presumed that the conquest of Vēṅgi by Pulakēśin II was effected, neither in 614, nor in 615 but some time after, even though he did not precisely specify the date of that event anywhere. Some scholars hold that it took place in A. D. 609.[1] Some others place it in 615 or sometime before A. D. 615,[2] without mentioning any reasons for their statements. Hence these dates may be set aside.

Lack of sufficient data, to fix the date of the conquest of Vēṅgi has given rise to many conjectures, all unfounded. The only evidence, that enables us to precisely fix the date of this event is that of the Koppāram plates[3] of Pulakēśin II, the second grant in the above-given list. This grant was first edited by Mr. K. V. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute[4] and recently by Dr. Hultzsch, in the Epigraphia Indica.[5] These two scholars are divided in their opinion as to the identification of Pṛthivīduvarāja, who figures in this grant as its ājñapti (executor). The date of this grant was given, as "Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Saṁvatsara ēkaviṁśati, the ninth day of the month of Kārtika." While Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao's date for this grant is A. D. 611, Hultzsch fixes it at A. D. 631. Which of these two dates is correct?

The determination of the date of this grant by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao rested solely upon his identification of the ājñapti — Pṛthivīduvarāja, who was taken to be no other than Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates[6] of Śaka 532. The reasons that tempted him to identify Pṛthivīduvarāja with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates are (1) the supposed similarity of the name in both the grants. Of the name Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma, he took Dhruvarāja to be the name proper and the remaining words to be appellations. Similarly, of Pṛthivīduvarāja of the Koppāraṁ plates

1. V. A. Smith's Early History of India, p. 384.
2. G. Jouveau Dubreuil's 'Pallavas', p. 37; C. V. Vaidya's 'Mediaeval India', Vol. I, p. 297.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, 43 ff.
5, Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.
6. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. X, p. 365 ff.

Duvarāja was taken to be the name proper. So, he concludes that both the names, mentioned in the two grants refer to one and the same person; (2). In both the grants, he (Dhruvarāja) was said to be the possessor and seizer of many maṇḍalas and Viṣayas (lord of four Viṣayas and maṇḍalas in the Goa grant and seizer of the neighbouring maṇḍalas in the Koppāraṁ plates).

So on these data, identifying Pṛthivīduvarāja of the Koppāraṁ plates, with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates, Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao comes to the conclusion that the 21st year of the Koppāraṁ plates should be that of Dhruvarāja. As his 20th regnal year is known to be Śaka 532 or A. D. 610 by his Goa plates, so the date of the Koppāraṁ grant should naturally be 611 A. D. or Śaka 533,—the details Kārtika navamī, Thursday, tallying with 21st October, Thursday, in 611.[1]

While editing the above inscription in the Epigraphia Indica, Dr. Hultzsch, differing from Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, has identified Pṛthivīduvarāja with Pṛthīviyuvarāja, *i. e.*, the heir-apparent to the throne, viz. Viṣṇuvardhana I, brother of Pulakēśin II. He holds, quite correctly, the term Duvarāja to be the Dravidian *tadbhava* of *yuvarāja*. In accordance with this identification, he corrects "*rājyasya Pṛthivīduvarāja māṇatti*" (line 9) of the very faulty text of the Koppāraṁ plates to "*rājasya Pṛthivīduvarajasyājñaptiḥ.*" Then he goes on to say that Pṛthivīduvarāja can safely be identified with Viṣṇuvardhana I, as it was stated of him in line 9, that he had "secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son". Finally, he takes the 21st year to be that of Pulakēśin II, which was calculated, by Sewell, to be equivalent to A. D. 631, on the details, though meagre, furnished by the grant[2].

With due deference Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao I beg to differ from him, regarding his identification of Duvarāja with Dhruvarāja for the following reasons:

(*i*) I hold that the name Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma contains three component parts, (1) Satyāśraya, (2) Dhruvarāja and (3) Indravarma, which might be the names of three different persons. The whole compound may be taken to mean Indravarma, son of

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1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Vol. IV, p. 43 ff.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 261.

Dhruvarāja, son of Satyāśraya. Thus in my opinion the Goa grant really belongs, not to Dhruvarāja but to Indravarma. These three generations of chiefs might perhaps be contemporaries of three generations of Cāḷukya kings, namely Satyāśraya, Kīrtivarma and Maṅgalīśa and lastly Pulakēśin II. Satyāśraya, the grandfather of Indravarma, might have assumed the name of Satyāśraya I, the Cāḷukya king, being perhaps his subordinate. The Goa grant makes it clear that Indravarma was a feudatory of Pṛthivīvallabha, who should be a Cāḷukya king, most probably Maṅgalīśa, as has been deemed by Kāśīnāth Tryambak Telang[1] and the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,[2] even though his name proper was not given in the grant. Many instances can be cited, from South Indian History, of subordinates, assuming the names of their overlords as a mark of respect and loyalty to them. Thus, the Goa grant cannot be said to belong to Dhruvarāja.

(*ii*) The appellation Pṛthivī, mentioned in the Koppāraṁ plates is not found attached to Dhruvarājēndravarma's name in the Goa grant. If both the persons are identical, it is curious that it should be absent in the grant of his 20th year and present in a grant of his 21st regnal year. In this connection, the distinction is worth noting, which Hultzsch draws between the titles " *Pṛthivīyuvarāja* "—" the heir-apparent of the earth," and " *Pṛthivīvallabha* "—" the husband of the earth ", the latter being born by Kīrtivarma I and Pulakēśin II. If " Satyāśraya" of the Goa grant, is taken to be a mere appellation just like "Pṛthivī", then it is unintelligible, why it should be omitted in the Koppāraṁ plates, which add much to the renown of "Duvarāja".

(*iii*) The Koppāraṁ plates clearly give the name of the executor of the grant as Duvarāja. If this is taken to be the scribe's mistake, he should have written Dhuvarāja, though not Dhruvarāja. 'Da' can never

1. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. X, p. 348.
2. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan, p. 86.

be mistaken for 'dha', as there was much difference between the two letters in the Vēṅgi Telugu-Kanarese Script.

(*iv*) The phrase or phrases, denoting the possessor of Viṣayas or maṇḍalas should not be taken as an evidence to support any identification, because any conqueror may be described in such general terms. No preciseness is conveyed by them.

(*v*) Pṛthivīduvarāja agrees in its contracted form more with Pṛthivīvallabha Viṣṇuvardhana yuvarāja of the Satāra plates rather than with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates.

(*vi*) Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao also admits that Pṛthivīduvarāja "secured a (heriditary) kingdom to continue in the lineage of his son."[1] This carries with it some meaning when it is said that he secured a kingdom by his prowess, only here on the *East Coast*, because the Koppāraṁ plates narrate his conquests in the coastal districts of the Telugu country. If, on the other hand, it is pointed out that by kingdom is meant that tract of country of which Rēvatīdvīpa was the capital, then it is wholly unintelligible why that should be stated here in the Koppāraṁ plates rather than in the Goa grant. Instead, if by kingdom is meant some portion of the Telugu country, then it is to be satisfactorily located and his descendants, who ruled over that kingdom should be identified. So far, neither have we any knowledge of either Dhruvarājendravarma's or his descendants' rule over any part of, nor have any of their records, either in stone or copper plate, come to light in the Telugu country.

(*vii*) Finally, the Koppāraṁ plates were issued by Pulakēśin II himself, as has been admitted by both Messrs. Lakṣmaṇa Rao and Hultzsch. The real grantor was the king himself. Pṛthivīduvarāja, as has been observed by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, was only an executor of the grant. As such, the regnal year 21, mentioned therein, should necessarily be that of

1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Vol. IV, p. 43 ff.

> Pulakēśin II, but not that of the executor. No subordinate will dare to date in his own regnal year, a grant, given in the presence of the overlord, if not by the overlord himself.

These considerations actuate me to discard the date A. D. 610 in favour of A. D. 631, which I hold along with Dr. Hultzsch to be the date of the conquest of Vēṅgi by Pulakēśin II, and identify "Pṛthivīduvarāja" with Pṛthivīyuvarāja" *i.e.*, Viṣṇuvardhana I. The fact that Sarvalōkāśraya *alias* Maṅgi yuvarāja is mentioned in the Eastern Cāḷukya grants themselves as Maṅgi dogarāja[1] and Maṅgi duvarāja[2] strengthens the above contention in as much as the terms duvarāja and yuvarāja are identical. As has been proved by the Koppāraṁ grant, most of the Eastern Telugu Country was conquered by the prowess of Viṣṇuvardhana I himself. Another fact, that he was a subordinate to his brother till A. D. 631 also becomes clear from the Koppāraṁ plates, as was pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch.[3]

IV

Thus, the framework of the scheme of the Eastern Cāḷukya chronology is securely screwed tight by (1) The Koppāraṁ plates, which supply us with the date A. D. 631 for the conquest of Vēṅgi, (2) the Madras Museum plates of Viṣṇuvardhana III, which give the chronogram "Svādita", answering to Śaka 684, equivalent to A. D. 761 or 762, in accordance with the Śaka year, taken to be either current or expired and the coronation dates of kings already cited. Within this framework, the periods of rule of various Eastern Cāḷukya kings should be adjusted without loosing sight of the other grants, mentioned in the list given above, that furnish us with certain details for calculation.

(1) Now, let us take the Cīpurupalli plates into consideration. They record, in the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I, a lunar eclipse on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa. There were lunar eclipses on Śrāvaṇa Śu. di. 15 in the years 622, 623, 641, 650, 651 and 668 — roughly during the period to be assigned to Viṣṇuvardhana I. We are given to understand that he ruled over Vēṅgi for 18 years. As such, the

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1. Sātalūr plates of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III (Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 101 ff.).

2. Īpūru plates of Viṣṇuvardhana III (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 58).

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.

first four years 622, 623, 632 and 641 need not be taken into consideration, the first two, because the conquest of Vēṅgi was not effected by that time and the last two, because the 18th year of rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I from the date of the conquest does not coincide with either 632 or 641. Of the last three dates, the last one may safely be set aside as it is too late a date for him. Therefore, the two remaining dates A. D. 650 and 651 are entitled for our consideration.

(2) The gift, recorded in the Pedavēgi plates of Jayasiṁha Vallabha I was made on Kārtikapaurṇamī, viṣuvadina, *i.e.*, at the time of Vṛścika Saṁkrānti, on Kārtika Śu. di. 15. So a date should be pitched upon, which answers these details, within the period assigned to him by Dr. Fleet and a little later, say between 633 and 680. During this period, Vṛścika Saṁkramaṇa falls on Kārtika Śu. di. 15, in the years 633, 652 and 671 on 22nd, 22nd and 23rd dates of October respectively.[1] 633 may be discarded as it is only two years later in date, than the conquest of Vēṅgi, which should naturally fall during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana I.

(i) In 652, Śu. di. 15th of Kārtika begins on October 21st, gh. 46, p. 8 after sunrise and ends on the next day *i.e.*, October 22nd, gh. 41, p. 28 after sunrise. The Saṁkrānti moment falls on October 22nd, at ·521 of the day or gh. 31, p. 16 after sunrise.

(ii) In 671. Śu. di. 15th of Kārtika begins on October 22nd, gh. 47, p. 49 after sunrise and ends on the next day, October, 23rd, gh. 41, p. 49 after sunrise. The Saṁkrānti moment falls on October 23rd, at ·437 of the day or gh. 26, p. 13 after sunrise.

Anyone of the above two dates may be selected as the date of those plates, as it is impossible to precisely fix it for want of the regnal year of the king.

(3) The next grants that furnish us with some details are those of Viṣṇuvardhana II. All the four grants of his, so far discovered, contain details, with the exception of only one, which admit of verification. They are the Rēyūru, Maṭṭewāḍa and Pamiḍimukkala plates, which are already known to us by the list, given above.

1. All calculations, made in this paper are for mean tithi and for mean sunrise, in accordance with the Sūrya Siddhānta. I have based my calculations on the chronological tables of Mr. V. B. Ketkar.

Dr. Fleet's date[1] for the Rēyūru grant, A.D. 664, may be left out of account, as it does not fall within the probable limits of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana II, if 631 or 632 is taken as the initial year of rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I, over Vēṅgi.

Dr. Fleet himself has pushed on his calculations till 668 A.D. Between 664 and 668, the latter date only satisfies the details, mentioned in the grant, if 664 is discarded. So let us pursue our study from after 668, *i.e.*, from 669 to roughly 685 A. D. During this period of 16 years, the only date which satisfactorily answers the details, mentioned in the Rēyūru grant is 674 A. D. In this year Caitra śu. di. 10 begins on March 22nd Wednesday, gh. 8, p. 10 after sunrise and ends on 23rd Thursday, gh. 2, p. 13 after sunrise. Similarly Magha nakṣatra begins in the Caitra month in March on 22nd Wednesday, gh. 51, p. 18 after sunrise and ends on 23rd Thursday, gh. 47, p. 2 after sunrise. If 674 be the second year of Viṣṇuvardhana II, then the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana I roughly commences in 621 [674—53) (18 + 33 + 6)] or 624. But as has been observed above, as the conquest of Vēṅgi was not achieved by 621 or 624, 674 may be left out of consideration. Then in the remaining years of the period under notice, the Maghā nakṣatra commences on the day on which Caitra šu. di. 10 ends, in the years 669, 671, 672, 677, 679, 682, 683 and 685, *i.e.*, in all these years Magha is f. d. n. (*i.e.*, the following day's nakṣatra), but not the nakṣatra of the civil day in question, not being current at sunrise on Caitra śu. di. 10. However, from instances of this kind that occur in numerous well-attested inscriptions, no hesitation can be had to accept any one of these years as satisfying our conditions, had it not been for the difference in the week day. The commencing and ending moments of the *tithi* as well as the commencing moments of the nakṣatra in question along with the week day, in the years mentioned above are as follows:

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 7.

Year.	Month.	Caitra Śu. di. 10						Maghā nakṣatra		
		Commencement			Ending			Commencement		
669	March.	17th	Satur.	gh. 5, p. 13.	18th	Sun.	gh. 10, p. 26	18th	Sun.	gh. 19, p. 55
671	,,	24th	Mon.	57, 18	25th	Tues.	57, 43	25th	Tues.	33, 7
672	,,	13th	Satur.	25, 5	14th	Sun.	21, 14	14th	Sun.	45, 50
674	,,	22nd	Wednes.	8, 10	23rd	Thurs.	2, 13	22nd	Wednes.	51, 18
677	,,	18th	Wednes.	52, 52	19th	Thurs.	56, 10	19th	Thurs.	59, 10
679	,,	26th	Satur.	36, 7	27th	Sun.	39, 47	27th	Sun.	6, 18
682	,,	23rd	Sun.	25, 48	24th	Mon.	19, 55	24th	Mon.	3, 58
683	,,	13th	Fri.	7, 12	14th	Satur.	1, 34	14th	Satur.	29, 6
685	,,	20th	Mon.	33, 25	21st	Tues.	33, 18	21st	Tues.	27, 18

(ii) Leaving this, let us proceed with the Maṭṭewāḍa charter. Regarding the date of this grant, Dr. Fleet's calculations range from A. D. 651 to 676. His date is 668 A.D.[1] In doing so, he considered the date both according to the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* systems of citation.

What is meant by *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* systems? The luni-solar month ends with *amāvāsyā* in the *amānta* system and with *pūrṇimā* in the *pūrṇimānta* system. The *amānta* month begins with Śukla di. 1 after *amāvāsyā*, *i.e.*, with bright fortnight, and the *pūrṇimānta* month with Kṛṣṇa di. I, after *paurṇami*. As such, every second or dark fortnight of the *amānta* month becomes the first fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* month. For example *pūrṇimānta* Caitra begins with Kṛṣṇa di. 1 of *amānta* Phālguna, *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha with Kṛṣṇa di. 1 of *amānta* Caitra and so on. Thus, it may be observed that the bright fortnight alone is common to both the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* systems. In the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement, only the tithis of the dark fortnight are affected. Even to the present day the *pūrṇimānta* month is in vogue in Northern India and the *amānta* one, in South India. On the evidence of dates, furnished by certain inscriptions, discovered in South India, assignable to a period, prior to the 8th century, Dr. Fleet came to the conclusion that system *pūrṇimānta* was prevailing in Southern India, prior to the 8th century.[2] Hence he calculated the date of this grant in the *pūrṇimānta* system also.

Dr. Fleet's date may be set aside as it is too early to Viṣṇuvardhana II, according to the basis of our calculation. So some other date that satisfies the details, mentioned in the grant, should be found. If Phālguna is taken to be an *amānta* month, then there was only one solar eclipse, recorded in A. D. 686, on February 28th between the years 650 and 690. If it is considered to be a *pūrṇimānta* month, then the eclipse should have occurred on the 30th day of *amānta* Māgha. During the period, mentioned above there were only two solar eclipses, one in 651, on January, 27 and the other in 678, on January, 28. The date 651 can safely be ignored. So, out of the remaining two dates either 678, if *pūrṇimānta*, or 686 if *amānta* month is to be selected. Even though there is no evidence to settle whether the month in question is to be taken as either *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*, yet there

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 9 and 10.
2. Ind. Ant.. Vol. XVII, p. 141 f.

is scope to decide this point unambiguously. At the outset, it should be noted, that the Eastern Cāḷukya grants bear testimony to the dictum that both the solar and lunar reckonings were in vogue in the Telugu country, at least during the Cāḷukyan period. The Raṇastipūṇḍi and the Kōrumilli grants, besides giving the date of coronation of Vimalāditya and Rāja Rāja I, state that the event took place in Vṛṣabhamāsa and Siṁhamāsa respectively, in solar reckoning. As such, the coronation dates of either Vimalāditya or Rāja Rāja I do not help us to determine whether the month of Phālguna, mentioned in the Maṭṭewāḍa grant is *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. There are yet the British Museum plates of Amma II and the Attili grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I. The British Museum plates of Amma II Vijayāditya state that he was crowned in Śaka 867, and give the details of the date as Mārgaśīra ba. di. 13, in lunar reckoning. As the given *tithi* is of the dark fortnight, it helps us to some extent. If Mārgaśira, cited is a *pūrṇimānta* month, then the 13th day of the dark fortnight should be of *amānta* Kārtika. But the details of the date do not work out correctly, if Mārgaśira is taken to be such, *i.e*, *pūrṇimānta* month, thereby proving that the date cited in lunar reckoning in the Cāḷukyan inscriptions were most probably of the *amānta* but not of *pūrṇimānta* reckoning. The date of accession to the throne of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, is, according to the Attili plates, Śaka 814, Caitra ba. di. 2, Monday. Unless the month is Vaiśākha, the details, as Mr. Swamikannu Pillai observes, do not admit of verification.[1] As such, I take Caitra to be a mistake of the scribe for Cittirai, the Tamil solar month corresponding to lunar Vaiśākha. Anyhow this date does not help us owing to this discrepancy. No evidence has come forth, so far, to confirm Dr. Fleet's point of view that the *pūrṇimānta* system alone was in vogue prior to the eighth century. This want is filled up by the Cīpurupalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I. These plates, besides recording the gift, made at the time of the lunar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa, furnishes us with a date in numeral figures at the end of the charter, which Dr. Fleet has read as Saṁ. 18, mā. 4, di. 10 5 (=15). This is the date of the grant. If Śrāvaṇa is taken to be a *pūrṇimānta* month, then the day should be 30 but not 15 and the month 5 but not 4, as given in the charter

1. Govt. Epi. Rep. for 1918, part I. appendix, E., page. 126.
L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's "The Indian Ephemeris", Vol. I, part. II, p. 62.

These discrepancies will vanish if the month in question is taken to be an *amānta* month. In that case, it is to be understood that Viṣṇuvardhana I gave this gift in his 18th regnal year, on the 15th day after four months had elapsed, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, on the 15th day of the bright fortnight, at the time of the lunar eclipse. Thus, the Cīpurupalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I, along with the British Museum plates of Amma II Vijayāditya make it absolutely clear that the *amānta* but not the *pūrṇimānta* system was followed during the early Eastern Cāḷukya period.[1]

The above result makes it conclusive that the month of Phālguna, mentioned in the Maṭṭewāḍa grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II was an *amānta*, and not a *pūrṇimānta* month. Therefore, A. D. 686 may be selected as the date of that grant.

(iii) Accordingly, the lunar eclipse, in the month of Kārtika, recorded in the Pamiḍimukkala plates should fall between the dates 681 and 691. In both the years 682 and 683, there were lunar eclipses in the month of Kārtika. As the regnal year of the king was not given in the plates, anyone of these two years may be accepted as satisfying the details of the grant.

(4) Maṅgi Yuvarāja's second year[2], in which was issued his Cendalūr grant, should be A. D. 692, if the last year of rule of his predecessor Viṣṇuvardhana II is 691 A. D. There were no lunar eclipses in the month of Vaiśākha in A. D. 690, 691 or 692.

(5) The only date between A. D. 689 and 727, that answers well the details mentioned in the Peṇukaparu grant of Jayasiṁha II is A.D. 715. This is the only date assignable to that grant. In this year jyēṣṭha Śu. di. 15 begins on Wednesday, 22nd May, gh. 9, 22 palas after sunrise and ends on Thursday, 23rd May, gh. 11, p. 56 after sunrise. The Mithuna Saṁkrānti moment falls on 22nd May, Wednesday at ·350 of the day or 21 ghaṭikas after sunrise.

(6) As has already been noticed, Śaka 684 falls during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III, which corresponds to either A.D. 761 or 762.

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1. Perhaps through the influence of the Cōḷas, with whom the Eastern Cāḷukyas had contracted marriage alliances, the solar reckoning was introduced into the Telugu Country.

2. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 236ff. The English date equivalent here given is 6th May, 673 A.D.

V

Now, with the help of the dates, that answer the details given in the grants, shown in the table, a scheme of chronology may be formulated, in the adjustment of which, three assumptions are involved, namely, (i) The regnal years of each king are to be counted just like current years, *i.e.*, the first regnal year of a king should be counted, not from the expiry of the first year but from the first day of his first year; (ii) The same year has to be counted twice over, as the last year of one king and the first year of the next king; (iii) The Śaka years should be taken to be expired years and not as current ones. With these observations, I put forth my scheme of Eastern Cāḷukya chronology, as shown below:

	Name of the King.	Period of rule.	Śaka years.		A.D. years.
1	Viṣṇuvardhana I ..	18 yrs.	555—572	or	633—650
2	Jayasiṁha I ..	33 ,,	572—604	,,	650—682
3	Viṣṇuvardhana II ..	9 ,,	604—612	,,	682—690
4	Maṅgiyuvarāja ..	25 ,,	612—636	,,	690—714
5	Jayasiṁha II ..	13 ,,	636—648	,,	714—726
6	Kokkili ..	½ ,,	648—649	,,	726—727
7	Viṣṇuvardhana III ..	37 ,,	649—685	,,	727—763

The next landmark in the Eastern Cāḷukya chronology is the date Śaka 814 or A. D. 892, the initial year of Cāḷukya Bhīma I. There are five reigns more to be adjusted before that of Cāḷukya Bhīma I. Even though the shortest length for each of the above reigns, according to the Sātalūru grant, is taken into account, the sum total (134 years) exceeds by 4 years, the intervening period between the last year of Viṣṇuvardhana III and the initial year of Cāḷukya Bhīma I (892—762=130 years). No adjustment is possibe for this discrepancy but an explanation offers itself. It seems that Cāḷukya Bhīma I was anointed to the kingdom of Vēṅgi, even during the reign of Vijayāditya III, the necessity for such an event being, perhaps the default of a male heir to the throne, his old age, the untimely and unexpected death of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya I and lastly the political strife imminent with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Mālkhēḍ[1]. Consecrating Vikramāditya, his brother, as heir to

1. There were wars between the Eastern Cāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the time of Kṛṣṇa I (Vide, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI,

the throne in itself proves that Vijayāditya III had no male issue, and the term Yuvarāja, applied to Vikramāditya in all the Eastern Cāḷukya grants, leads us to the conclusion that he died, while he was yet a crown-prince. Owing perhaps to the conjoint rule of Vijayāditya III with Cāḷukya Bhīma I, even after this event, the Cāḷukyan grants give the former a reign of 44 years and count the latter's period of rule from the date of his coronation, even though the former was the actual ruler, during the four years in question. Numerous instances of this sort may be cited from Cōḷa history[1] as well as from the history of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi[2]. If the discrepancy of these four years, is thus explained and adjusted, then the length of each of the above-stated five reigns may be given as shown below:

8	Vijayāditya I ..	18 yrs.	685—702	or	763—780
9	Viṣṇuvardhana IV ..	35 ,,	702—736	,,	780—814
10	Vijayāditya II ..	40 ,,	736—775	,,	814—853
11	Viṣṇuvardhana V ..	1½ ,,	775—776	,,	853—854
12	Vijayāditya III ..	44 ,,	776—819	,,	854—897
13	Cāḷukya Bhīma I ..	Crowned in	814	,,	892

From the initial year of Cāḷukya Bhīma I to the accession date of Amma II Vijayāditya, the chronology may be formulated as follows:

13	Cāḷukya Bhīma I ..	30 yrs.	814—843	or	892—921
14	Vijayāditya IV ..	½ ,,	843	,,	921
15	Amma I ..	7 ,,	843—849	,,	922—927
16	Bēta Vijayāditya V ..	15days	849	,,	927
17	Tāḍapa I ..	1 m.	849	,,	92
18	Vikramāditya II ..	1yr.	849—850	or	927—928
19	Bhīma III[3] ..	—	—	,,	—
20	Yuddhamalla II ..	7 yrs.	850—856	,,	928—934
21	Cāḷukya Bhīma II ..	12 ,,	866—867	,,	934—945
22	Amma II Vijayāditya VI ..	Crowned in	867	,,	945

p. 208ff— The Alas plates of Gōvinda II). There are many Rāṣṭrakūṭa as well as the Eastern Cāḷukya grants that bear evidence to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Cāḷukya wars.

1. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's, 'The Coḷas', Vol. I, p. 221.

2. Ind. Ant, Vol. X, p. 165.

3. Since this prince was mentioned only in one grant, his reign was left out of account.

The next guiding factors, namely the length of the succeeding reigns after Amma II and the coronation dates, available from the later Eastern Cāḷukya grants are already known to us. With the exception of the Āruṁbāka plates of Bādapa and the Śrīpūṇḍi grant of Tāḍapa II, all the later Eastern Cāḷukya grants, which invariably belong to the descendants of Dānārṇava, step-brother of Amma II, state that the former ruled for three years after the latter. But, of the two above-mentioned grants, the Āruṁbāka plates, which alone give us the length of reigns, do not admit of Dānārṇava's rule but give us to understand that Bādapa came to the throne immediately after Amma II. By the Madras Museum plates[1] of Amma II it is known that Dānārṇava ruled the country of Vēṅgi, as his brothers' representative, when the latter had been to Kaḷiṅga. Now, if, it is necessary to account for the omission of Dānārṇava's rule in the Āruṁbāka plates, then it may be stated, that the later grants perhaps count as his rule those three years of this regency. But, as all the later Eastern Cāḷukya grants testify to his independent rule after his brother, Amma II, their statements may be safely relied upon and taken to be fairly correct. According to those authorities, there was, after Dānārṇava's rule, anarchy for a period of 27 years in Vēṅgi country, — the country having become devoid of a ruler.

But on the other hand it seems certain, as has been pointed out by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, on the authority of the Āruṁbāka and Śrīpūṇḍi grants that, in fact it was not a period of anarchy but a wilful omission of the reigns of Bādapa and Tāḍapa II by their *dāyādis*. Thus, it has now become almost an established and approved fact that the sons of Yuddhamalla II, Bādapa and Tāḍapa II of the collateral branch, ruled over Vēṅgi during that period. As there was no mention of these two kings in the later Eastern Cāḷukyan grants, it is not possible to know the period of rule of each of these separately. Whether they ruled the kingdom separately or conjointly, it is certain that the period of anarchy is nothing but the total duration of the reign of these two rulers. Order was restored in the country of Vēṅgi, according to the same authorities, with the accession of Śaktivarma I, son of Dānārṇava.

The intervening period between the coronation dates of Amma II and Rāja Rāja I, *i.e.*, 77 years (1022—945=77) does not

1. C. P. no. 1 of 1916—17.

tally with the total duration of the intermediate reigns, including those of Bādapa and Tāḍapa II, *i.e.*, the period of the so called anarchy, but falls short of the above figure by 8 years (25+3+27+12+7=69). If, instead of Rāja Rāja's, Vimalāditya's coronation date is taken into account, then the difference dwindles into 3 years [(1011—945=66; (25+3+27+12=63 years actually (66—63=3)], a period to be made up to coincide with the initial year of Vimalāditya.

Dānārṇava's rule comes to an end with A. D. 971, and if Vimalāditya's initial year is taken to be the basis, then counting backwards, we get A.D. 1000 as the accession date of Śaktivarma, Vimalāditya's brother and predecessor. Then the so-called period of anarchy, *i.e.*, the period of rule of Bādapa and Tāḍapa II is to be assumed to be 30 years[1] as against 27 years of the later grants. Therefore, an explanation seems to be necessary. After a period of 27 years, Śaktivarma should have, perhaps, become the master of the situation and brought the country under his control, even though there were sporadic risings and fights here and there. Finally, perhaps, three years after, in A. D. 1000, he should have ascended the throne.

As an alternative to the above proposition, Dānārṇava may be presumed to have ruled for more than three years — a presumption that goes against the definite statements of all the Cāḷukyan grants. But I hold that the former view agrees more with the evidence we have, on hand.

Coming next to Vimalāditya, if the period of his rule and his coronation date Śaka 933 are taken into consideration, then his reign should terminate with Śaka 939, which should naturally be the initial year of the reign of his son, Rāja Rāja I. But as we know already, Rāja Rāja's coronation took place in fact in Śaka 944, or A. D. 1022. Therefore, it should be stated that Vimalāditya reigned, not for 7 years, but for 12 years, thus creating a discrepancy of 5 years. But this riddle is not so difficult to solve as it may seem to be at first.

The discrepancy can be explained and adjusted by means of Raṇastipūṇḍi[2] and Rāmatīrtham[3] records of Vimalāditya, and the Pāmulavāka plates[4] and the Kōrumilli grant[5] of Vijayāditya

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 272.
2. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 347 ff.
3. Ep. Coll., no. 83 of 1917.
4. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 277 ff.
5. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 50 ff.

VIII and Rāja Rāja I respectively, sons of Vimalāditya, by different mothers.

Whether Vimalāditya became an actual convert to Jainism or not, it is evident that he favoured that religion. His Rāmatīrtham record bears testimony to this view. At the time of the gift, recorded in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of the 8th year of his rule, *i.e.*, Śaka 940, Vimalāditya was a Śaivaite, having borne the titles *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Paramabrahmaṇya*[1]. But his Rāmatīrtham record, which makes us believe that he was Jain, should be later in time than his Raṇastipūṇḍi grant, *i.e.*, perhaps of his 9th year or Śaka 941. So, these two above records make the following points clear, namely, (i) that Vimalāditya ruled for more than 7 years, though the duration of his reign is stated to be only 7 years by the later grants; (ii) that he became Jain after his 8th year, *i.e.*, Śaka 940, the date of the Raṇastipūṇḍi record[2], before which he was a Śaivaite; and (iii) that his rule, as a consequence, should have lasted for more than 8 years, *i.e.*, 9 years or even longer.

Vijayāditya is said to have been crowned in Śaka 952, (27th June, 1031 A.D.) after wresting the kingdom of Vēṅgi from his step-brother, Rāja Rāja I, after he had ruled for 12 years.[3] Thus we find that Rāja Rāja's 12th year corresponds to Śaka 952, giving us the initial year of his rule as Śaka 941. In fact, Śaka 944 is the coronation date given him by the Kōrumilli grant.

Over against many speculations and conjectures so far made either to adjust or to explain the discrepancy of 5 years, shown above and the coronation dates of Vijayāditya and Rāja Rāja I, I hold that Vimalāditya was duly crowned in Vēṅgi in Śaka 933 and was ruling the country till the accession of Rāja Rāja I, *i.e.*, Śaka 944, without a break. But, at the same time, installing his son Rāja Rāja I, prince-regent, full 8 years after his coronation, *i.e.*, in his 9th year, in Śaka 941, and placing the whole burden of the kingdom upon his shoulders, he did not actively take part in the affairs of the state, having himself become a nominal ruler. Perhaps, he, henceforward, devoted his whole time to religious study, having become an ardent desciple of Trikālayōgimunīndra or Trikālayōgi Siddhāntadēva of the Dēsigaṇa[4] School. Thus, it is clear that Rāja Rāja I was actually

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 355 f.
2. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 358 f.
3. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol, II, p. 279 f.
4. Ep. Rep. for 1918, p. 133, para 6.

ruling the country as a regent of his father, even though his formal coronation was deferred to a later date, till Śaka 944 or A. D. 1022. Vijayāditya VII rebelled against him during his rule and took hold of the kingdom. How long he held the sceptre is not known; but the existence of Rāja Rāja's inscriptions[1] after Śaka 952 and the period 40 years assigned to his rule in the later Cāḷukyan grants clearly prove, that, Vijayāditya VII was driven out very soon, and that Rāja Rāja I, regaining his throne, continued to rule till Śaka 983 or A. D. 1061. It is unnecessary for us here to go into the reasons that led Vijayāditya VII to rebel against his brother or to follow the course of events of this sanguinary war or to note the contending parties.

After the demise of Rāja Rāja I, his son Rājēndra Cōḍa should have come to the throne of Vēṅgi. But inscriptions reveal the fact that Vijayāditya VII siezed again Vēṅgi and raised his son Śaktivarma II to the throne. It is not known how he succeeded in his attempt, when Rājēndra Cōḍa was the crown-prince. History is silent as to the activities of Rājēndra Cōḍa for a decade, *i.e.*, from 1061 to 1070 A. D., after the death of his father. No record of this prince during that period has so far been discovered. All the innumerable inscriptions of his, that have come to light, give A. D. 1070 as the initial year of his rule. But yet this fact is mentioned in some of his early inscriptions[2] that he captured elephants at Vairāgaram, conquered Cakrakōṭa and took tribute from the king Dhārāvarṣa at Cakrakōṭa while he was yet a *yuvarāja*. It is not yet known precisely when and in what connection this expedition was undertaken by him. It may be perhaps when he was away on this expedition, that the death of Rāja Rāja I occurred, and the capture of Vēṅgi by his paternal uncle, Vijayāditya VII was effected.

Śaktivarma II was crowned in Śaka 983 or A. D. 1061.[3] But after a rule of one year, he passed away, when his father Vijayāditya "resumed the authority out of regard for Dharma". Hence it is evident that Vēṅgi was under the control, not of Rājēndra Cōḍa, but of Vijayāditya VII, immediately after the death of Rāja Rāja I. Vijayāditya's rule over Vēṅgi lasted for 15 years, as is evident from his records,[4] *i.e.*, till 998 or A. D. 1076.

1. Ep. Coll., no. 670 and 671 of 1920.
2. S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 64-7.
3. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 40 f.
4. S. I. I., Vol. IV, no. 1011,

During this period, the illustrious line of Cōḷa rulers of Kāñci, from Rāja Rāja I came to an end with Vīrarājēndra, the third son of Rājēndra Cōḷa I. Adhirājēndra, the son of the former, being a very feeble prince, his brother-in-law, Vikramāditya VI, the Western Cāḷukya ruler of Kalyāṇ and Rājēndra Cōḍa, the Eastern Cāḷukya prince, both, with a view to gain supremacy over South India, intervened in the political affairs of the Cōḷa country. Immediately after the death of Vīrarājēndra, Vikramāditya VI set up Adhirājēndra on the Cōḷa throne But after a rule of two years he was murdered, as a consequence of the political disturbances at the Cōḷa capital, and we find Rājēndra Cōḍa, the Cāḷukya prince, in possession of his maternal kingdom, the Cōḷa country. So far, there is no evidence to show that Vijayāditya VII, the then ruler of Vēṅgi was his subordinate and that Vēṅgi had come under his control before A. D. 1076.

It is hard to conjecture the nature of relations that existed between Vijayāditya VII and his nephew Rājēndra Cōḍa, during this period. Since no overlord is mentioned in Vijayāditya's records, it is to be presumed that he was ruling the country independently. Even though some records[1] of Vīracōḍa, son of Rājēndra Cōḍa, bear evidence to the regard the latter had entertained for his uncle, Vijayāditya and give out that Rājēndra Cōḍa told his son Vīra Cōḍa while sending him as a viceroy to Vēṅgi, after the death of Vijayāditya VII, that he, being desirous of the Cōḷa sovereignty and of subjugating various countries, had transferred the sovereignty of Vēṅgi to his paternal uncle, we are led to believe that he said so out of policy, so as not to create any bad impression regarding his uncle, in the minds of his sons, in the political interests of his paternal kingdom.

In this connection, this fact is worth noting that for the first 5 years of his reign, from A. D. 1070, Rājēndra Cōḍa did not assume the honorific title of Kulōttuṅga, (the elevator of his family), which became his confirmed name from after A. D. 1075-76 — the same year, in which Vijayāditya VII breathed his last. If it is a fact that there are no inscriptions of his, with the name Kulōttuṅga, before his 5th year, then the change of name may be taken as indicative of his authority over his paternal as well as his maternal Kingdoms — the Vēṅgi and the Cōḷa countries.

Anyhow, from after A. D. 1076, Rājēndra Cōḍa alias Kulōttuṅga I became the lord of the Vēṅgi kingdom also

1. S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 49 ff; and Ind. Ant.. Vol. XIV, p. 55 f.

and nominated his sons, one after another to rule over that country. Besides this, he, by assigning limited tracts of country, on feudal tenure, to some of his trusted commanders, who had been serving him before, created a number of feudatories, perhaps as a check over his sons, lest they should become too powerful and rise against him. Thus, the reign of Kulōttuṅga I forms a definite landmark in the history of the Telugu country, regarding not only the transfer of capital from Rājamundry to Tanjore but also for the beginnings, laid down in that reign, of the feudal kingdoms, which grew very powerful in the succeeding reigns.

Rāja Rāja II, son of Kulōttuṅga I became the first viceroy of Vēṅgi and controlled its fortunes after the death of Vijayāditya in A. D. 1076. He was crowned on 27th July, 1076 at Jananāthanagarī, *i.e.*, Drākṣārām, in the East Godavary district. With Rāja Rāja I and Vijayāditya VII, the Eastern Cāḷukya line founded by Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana I comes to a close, giving rise to another historic line, the Cāḷukya-Cōḍas of Tanjore, the originator of the new line being Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I himself.

From Amma II, the chronological scheme may be continued as shown below, adjusting the dates, having in view the various questions dealt with in the preceding paragraphs:

22	Amma II	25 yrs.	867—891	or	945— 969
23	Dānārṇava	3 ,,	891—893	,,	969— 971
24	Bādapa	30 ,, (24–25)	893—922	,,	971—1000
25	Tāḍapa II				
26	Śaktivarma I	12 ,,	922—933	,,	1000—1011
27	Vimalāditya	7 ,,	933—944	,,	1011—1022
28	Vijayāditya VII	(Crowned in)	952	,,	1031
29	Rāja Rāja I	40 yrs.	944—983	,,	1022—1061
30	Śaktivarma II	1 yr.	983—984	,,	1061—1062
31	Vijayāditya VII	15 yrs.	984—998	,,	1062—1076
32	Kulōttuṅga I	(Crowned in)	992	,,	1070

Post Script.

Ep. Coll., no. 80 of 1930, giving the Cyclic year Bahudhānya, Kārtika Śu. di 5, Sun. corresponding to the 5th reg. year of a Viṣṇuvardnana has come to my notice too late to be considered in this article. On going through the facsimile of the inscription which I was kindly permitted by the Superintendent of Epigraphy, to consult, I came to the conclusion that the reg. year is 12th, corresponding to 11th Oct., 739 A. D. in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III. I hope to deal with the question fully in a separate paper.

SOME RARE METRES IN SANSKRIT

BY

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The number of metres in Sanskrit and Prākṛt is, as stated in the commentaries on *Piṅgala-Chandas-sūtra*, *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa*, *Vṛttaratnākara*, and other similar works, well-nigh incalculable, that of the *Sama-vṛttas* alone exceeding 130 million.[1] The number of those actually described and named in these works, however, is an infinitesimal fraction of the above and does not exceed 300; and of these metres too the great majority are used only rarely. When therefore an author happens to employ a rare metre in his composition, it is quite possible that the reader, copyist or editor of the work may fail to recognise the metrical character of the passage in question and look upon it as prose. The following passage on pp. 15-16 of Vol. I of Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka-campū* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. of 1916) offers an instance in point:

विकचकर्णोत्पलस्पर्धितरलेक्षणाः ।
केलितालक्कणत्कनकमयकङ्कणाः ॥
सरसनखराजिविच्छुरितभुजमण्डलाः ।
काश्चिकोल्लासवशदर्शितोरुस्थलाः ॥
स्वैरसंजल्पनस्मेरबिम्बाधराः ।
कर्णकण्डूमिषोद्वलितकक्षान्तराः ॥
[2]पृथुनितम्बस्खलल्लुटहगतिविक्रमाः ।
सहजशृङ्गाररसभरितमुखविभ्रमाः ॥

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1. This figure does not take into account the subdivisions of the *Gāhā* (26 in number), *Skandha* (28), *Dohā* (23), *Rasikā* (8), *Rolā* (12), *Kāvya* (45), *Ṣaṭpadī* (71), *Raḍḍā* (7) and *Upajāti* (14) that are defined and named in the commentary on *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* (Bibl. Indica ed.) and on p. 215 of Vecārāma Sārvabhauma's edition (Calcutta, Saṃvat 1926) of *Piṅgala-Chandas-sūtra* with Halāyudha's scholium.

पीनकुचकुम्भदर्पत्रुटत्कञ्चुकाः ।
शालिवप्रेषु यान्त्यः क्षणं गोपिकाः ॥
पान्थसार्थेषु नयनोत्सवं कुर्वते ।
यत्र तापं पुनश्चिरमुपातन्वते ॥

Though printed as prose by the editors (Pandits Śivadatta and Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkar), it is readily plain to the ear that the passage consists of six rhyming couplets or twelve lines each of which is formed of four feet of five mātrās.

The writers on Sanskrit prosody have no name for this metre, which however is used fairly frequently by Kannaḍa and Telugu writers and is known as Lalita-ragaḷe and Dviradagati-ragaḍa respectively in these languages.

Raghaṭā (in Kannaḍa *ragaḷe* and *ragaḍa* in Telugu) is the name of a class of metres whose characteristics are: (1) each line consists of a certain number of feet containing a certain number of mātrās; (2) each odd line, generally, rhymes with the line that follows and forms a couplet with it; and (3) there is no limit to the number of lines that may constitute a stanza.[2]

The Telugu prosodist Appakavi (later than 1600 A. D.) describes nine kinds of Ragaḍas—Hayapracāra, Turaga-valgana, Dvirada-gati, etc., while the Kannaḍa prosodist Nāgavarma (c. 1040 A.D.) mentions in his *Chandombudhi* (Kittel's edition, p. 76) the names of three Ragaḷes, Mandānila, Lalita and Utsāha and says that the lines of these Ragaḷes contain 16, 20 and 24 moras respectively In the examples cited by Kittel, the sixteen moras of the Mandānila-ragaḷe are contained in four feet of four moras each (cp. *ā vēḷeyoḷ ati-sambhramam esedire* | *pū-vali pura-vīthigaḷoḷ neṟedire*), the twenty moras of the Lalita-ragaḷe in four feet of five moras each (cp. *alli māmaradalli mallikā-lateyalli* | *yeḷeya-sugemaradalli jaḷaruhākaradalli*), and the twenty-four moras of the Utsāha-ragaḷe in eight feet of three moras each (cp. *aṭṭa*

1. Thus stanza 55 of the *Saṃsa-padam* (a poem published recently, in 1928) consists of 242 lines of Lalita-ragaḷe.

2. The reading *pṛthu-nitamba-vaśa-skhalat* of the edition is without doubt wrong. The word '*vaśa*' is in disaccord, not only with the metre, but with the sense also; and I have no doubt that it is due to a later interpolator.

anna vuṇṇa biḍanu koṭṭa sāla kēḷa-biḍanu | peṭṭiyoḷiha cinnad oḍave toṭṭen enalu Yamanu biḍanu).[1]

The six couplets cited above from the *Yaśastilaka* are, plainly, composed in the Lalita-ragaḷe, and constitute, in all probability, but one stanza.

2. Another instance of a verse being regarded as prose is met with on p. 270 of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*. The verse *jitam abhīkṣṇam eva Jāmbavatī-vadanāravindorjjitāḷinā | dānavāṅganā-mukhāmbhoja-lakṣmī-tuṣāreṇa Viṣṇunā* which is contained in lines 1, 2 of the Tusām rock inscription edited there, was taken for prose by Dr. Fleet.[2] Similarly, the verse [*arit*] *narendra-mauḷi-vinyasta-maṇi-kiraṇa-līḍha-kramāmbujaḥ* | *Pravarasenas tasya putro 'bhūd vikasan-navendīvarekṣaṇaḥ* that occurs in a Vākāṭaka inscription at Ajaṇṭā (*Archaeological Survey of Western India, IV, p. 125*) was not at first

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1. In some Kannaḍa works however the lines of the Utsāha-ragaḷe consist of four feet only of three moras each (cp. *kuḷirva pū-goḷaṃgaḷalli* | *taḷira kāvaṇaṃgaḷāli*) or are formed of three such feet and a *guru* (e. g. *māvinaḍiyoḷ āḍutuṃ* | *pāḍan eyde kēḷutuṃ*). The lines of the Mandānila-ragaḷe too are sometimes formed of four feet of 3, 5, 3, 5 moras respectively (cp. *nandanaṃgaḷoḷ suḷiva birayiyiṃ* | *kaṃpu kaṇmaleya pūta surayiyiṃ*).

2. It is less comprehensible why Fleet, on p. 9 *op. cit.* gives as prose the following verse that is contained in lines 30-31 of Inscription No. 1:

pradāna-bhuja-vikrama-praśama-śāstra-vākyodayair
upary-upari saṃcayocchritam aneka-mārggaṃ yaśaḥ |
punāti bhuvana-trayaṃ Paśupater jaṭāntar-guhā-
nirodha-parimokṣa-śīghram iva pāṇḍu Gāṅgaṃ payaḥ ||

Not only is the metre in which the verse is composed, namely, Pṛthvī, a well-known one, but the writer of the inscription has interposed a *d a ṇ ḍ a* after the last word of the prose passage that precedes this verse to indicate that what follows is a verse. Dr. Fleet did not understand the purpose of this *d a ṇ ḍ a*, but has said (n. 1, l. c.) that 'this mark of punctuation is unnecessary'.

The editors of the *Divyāvadāna* too (Cambridge University Press. 1886), have printed as prose a great number of verses composed in different well-known metres. See for instance pages 354-59.

recognised as verse, but was regarded as prose. It was only after the Tālgunda pillar inscription of Kākustha-varman[1], which contains 24 verses composed in the same metre, was discovered by Mr. Rice, that the similarity of these two verses with them was noticed and their metrical character recognised.

This Tālgunda inscription has been edited by the late Mr. Rice on p. 200ff. of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII and by the late Prof. Kielhorn on p. 24ff. of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII; and the latter scholar has reproduced on p. 27 *l. c.* the observations regarding the metre of the last-mentioned 24 verses which he made in German in a paper entitled 'Ein unbekanntes indisches Metrum' (*Nachrichten der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen*, 1899, p. 182ff.) The metre in which these verses are composed is, according to him, a species of m ā t r ā s a m a k a with four pādas whose general scheme is:

pādas 1 and 3: ◡—◡ ◡—◡—◡—◡—◡-—◡ (15 mātrās),
pādas 2 and 4: ◡—◡—◡—◡—◡—◡—◡ (15 mātrās);

but 18 of the odd pādas, out of 48, he points out, do not conform to this scheme, fourteen having 16 mātrās and four 17 mātrās, instead of 15.

Now the name m ā t r ā s a m a k a can be applied with propriety to denote the metre of such verses only as have the same number of mātrās in all the four pādas. There are only fifteen verses in the Tālgunda inscription which this description suits; and there still remain nine verses (Nos. 2, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15 17, 21, 24) with unequal number of mātrās in the pādas whose metre requires explanation. In two only of these verses (Nos. 14, 15) is the number of *akṣaras* the same in both halves; but in both verses the sequence of *gurus* and *laghus* in the first half differs from that in the second half. It hence becomes obvious that the metre in which these nine verses are composed is neither a varṇa metre nor a mātrā metre; and since these verses resemble so closely the other fifteen verses to which the description m ā t r ā s a m a k a fits, it also becomes plain that these latter verses are not in reality mātrāsamakas, but that they are composed in a metre which is neither a varṇa metre nor a mātrā-metre. In other words, it becomes plain that the gaṇas or feet

1. More correctly, of Śāntivarman, son of Kākustha-varman.

that make up the pādas of these twenty-four verses are neither varṇa-gaṇas nor mātrā-gaṇas.

Now there is a third class of gaṇas, differing from the above two, which I shall call miśra-gaṇas : in these gaṇas, there is constant, neither the number of akṣaras as in the varṇa-gaṇas (ma, ya, ra, sa, ta, ja, bha, na), nor that of mātrās as in the mātrā-gaṇas (ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa).[1] On the other hand, however, they resemble the mātrā-gaṇas in having more than one form, and the varṇa-gaṇas in that the number of mātrās contained in them is not anywhere taken into consideration.[2]

Such miśra-gaṇas have not, so far as I know, been described by any writer on Sanskrit prosody. They are known however to writers on Telugu prosody who describe three classes of such gaṇas under the name of Sūrya-gaṇa, Indra-gaṇa and Candra-gaṇa. The Kannaḍa prosodist Nāgavarma too describes three kinds of such gaṇas in vv. 297-298 (pp. 95, 96), saying that they are peculiar to Kannaḍa poetry. The three kinds are named by him Brahma-gaṇa, Viṣṇu-gaṇa and Rudra-gaṇa and consist respectively of gaṇas of two, three and four *gurus* and their transformations according to the process described in v. 298.[3]

There are thus, according to Nāgavarma, 4 kinds of Brahma-gaṇas, 8 kinds of Viṣṇu-gaṇas and 16 kinds of Rudra-gaṇas[4] as shown below:

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1. Regarding the mātrā-gaṇas ṭa, ṭha, etc., see *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa*. I, 12 ff. The ṭa-gana which contains six mātrās has thirteen forms; the ṭha-gana, containing five mātrās, has eight forms, etc.

2. That is, the miśra-gaṇas are not mātrā-gaṇas.

The varṇa-gaṇas, it will be borne in mind, have only one form each. The gaṇa ra, for instance, has the form—◡—and no other, the gaṇa na the form ◡ ◡ ◡ and no other.

3. This process is the same as the *prastāra-vidhi* described by writers on Sanskrit prosody; only, in respect of the first place, Nāgavarma enjoins that two *laghus* should be substituted, and not one *laghu* as is usual, for the *guru*.

4. Nāgavarma has given different names to each one of these twenty-eight gaṇas, in the same way as the author of the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* has given different names to the different forms of the ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha and ṇa gaṇas in I. 15 ff.

Brahma-gaṇas	Viṣṇu-gaṇas	Rudra-gaṇas	
1. — —	1. — — —	1. — — — —	9. — — — ⏑
2. ⏑ ⏑ —	2. ⏑⏑ — —	2. ⏑⏑ — — —	10. ⏑⏑ — — ⏑
3. — ⏑	3. — ⏑ —	3. — ⏑ — —	11. — ⏑ — ⏑
5. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	4. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —	4. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — —	12. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑
	5. — — ⏑	5. — — ⏑ —	13. — — ⏑ ⏑
	6. ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑	6. ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —	14. ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑
	7. — ⏑ ⏑	7. — ⏑ ⏑ —	15. — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
	8. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	8. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —	16. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

It will be observed that none of the twenty-eight gaṇas mentioned above begins with an iambus (⏑ —), because, as observed by Kittel (p. 98 *op. cit*; compare also his observations on pp. 24, 26) such feet are foreign to Kannaḍa metres. Since such feet are in use in Sanskrit metres, we must add to the injunctions given in v. 298 by Nāgavarma, that a single *laghu* can be substituted in the place of the first *guru* too, *when such guru is followed by another guru.*[1] We thus get ⏑— as an additionaal Brahmā foot,⏑ — ⏑; ⏑ — — as additional Viṣṇu feet, and ⏑ — — —; ⏑ — — ⏑; ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑; ⏑ — ⏑ — as additional Rudra feet.

There are thus 5 B(rahmā) feet, 10 V(iṣṇu) feet, and 20 R(udra) feet. The B feet contain 2–3 akṣaras and 3–4 mātrās, the V feet, 3-4 akṣaras and 4-6 mātrās, and the R feet, 4-5 akṣaras and 5–8 mātrās. That is to say, there is a slight variation in the number of akṣaras and also in the number of mātrās[2] of these miśra-gaṇas.

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1. This proviso is necessary to prevent confusion; without it, for instance, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ (which is a Brahmā foot; see above) would have to be regarded as a Viṣṇu foot also.

2. As observed above, the miśra feet are not mātrā-gaṇas, and the number of mātrās contained in them is of no account so far as the metre is concerned. It is nevertheless useful to take note of them since the variation of the number of mātrās, conjoined with that of the number of akṣaras, is an almost certain indication of the presence of miśra-gaṇas.

In varṇa feet, the number of akṣaras and of mātrās are both constant; in mātrā feet, the number of mātrās alone is constant while that of the akṣaras varies; in miśra feet, both these numbers vary.

Now one of the characteristics that strikes the reader of the above-mentioned verses of the Tālgunda inscrīption is the variation in the number of akṣaras and of mātrās in their pādas. As already observed by Kielhorn, the number of mātrās in these pādas varies between 15 and 17, and that of the akṣaras between 9 and 12. This variation is so similar to that which we have noticed above in connection with the miśra-gaṇas that the question obtrudes itself on our attention, "Are these pādas made up of miśra feet?"

In order to answer this, let us examine the following typical pādas chosen from these verses:

V. 3 *a*: अनुपदंसु रेन्द्रतुल्य वपुः (11 akṣaras; 15 mātrās)
b: काकुस्थव र्मांविशा लधीः (9 „ „ 15 „)
10 *c*: अधिजिगांसुः प्रवचनं निखिलम् (12 „ 16 „)
14 *a*: या न्तपालान् पल्लवे न्द्राणाम् (9 „ 16 „)
b: सहसाविनि र्जित्यसं युगे (10 „ 15 „)
19 *a*: पल्लवेन्द्रा यस्यश क्तिमिमाम् (10 „ 16 „)
b: लब्ध्वाप्रता पान्वया वपि (9 „ 15 „)

All these seven pādas, containing 9, 10, 11 or 12 akṣaras and 15 or 16 mātrās, consist of a Rudra foot, followed by a Viṣṇu foot and a Brahmā foot.

This is the case with the other pādas also of these twenty-four verses, with the exception of the following four:

11 *c*: कलियुगेस्मि न्नहोबतक्षत्रात्
17 *e*: विषमदेश प्रयाणसवंशे-
21 *c*: प्रेहरान्तामनन्य सञ्चरण-
24 *c*: सगरमुख्यः स्वयं कदंबकुले

These four pādas have the scheme RRB instead of RVB.

Thus, of the above-mentioned twenty-four verses of the Tālgunda inscription, all except nos. 11, 17, 21 and 24, have pādas following the scheme RVB and are therefore *sama-vṛttas* belonging to the class of miśra-gaṇa metres; nos. 11, 17, 21 and

24, on the other hand, are *upajāti*[1] verses belonging to the same class of metres, with three pādas of the type RVB and one pāda (pāda *c* in all four cases) of the type RRB.

The verses cited above from the Tuṣām and Ajaṇṭā inscriptions too are *upajāti* verses; in both, pāda *a* follows the scheme RRB and the other three, the scheme RVB. The two verses cited by Kielhorn (p. 27 l. c.) from the *Bower Manuscript*, on the other hand, are *sama-vṛttas* with all pādas following the type RVB.

The *Rāvaṇārjunīya* of Bhaṭṭa-Bhīma (on Bhaṭṭa-Bhauma) contains more than seventy verses composed in a similar metre. There are however lacunae in some of them; and in others, the editors have, with justice, suggested emendations which have the effect of altering, either the number of akṣaras or their quantity. Excluding then all such verses, there remain sixty,[2] the number

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1. The word *upajāti* is used by Sanskrit prosodists in three different senses. (1) It denotes stanzas in which pādas of the Indravajrā-vṛtta and Upendravajrā-vṛtta are mixed up. There are fourteen varieties of this *upajāti*, and they are all named and defined in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* (II, 121). (2) It denotes stanzas in which pādas of other different *vṛttas* belonging to the same *chandas* (Triṣṭubh, Jagatī, etc.) are mixed up. Thus, a stanza in which Vaṃśasthā and Indravaṃśā-pādas occur is such an *upajāti*. (3) It is used comprehensively to denote stanzas in which pādas of different *vṛttas*, whether belonging to the same *chandas* or different *chandases*, are mixed up. Such stanzas are called *viṣama-vṛttas* or *gāthās* also. The following stanza at the beginning of Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* is an *upajāti* of this type:

> yo viśvātmā vidhija-viṣayān prāśya bhogān sthaviṣṭhān
> paścāc cānyān svamati-vibhavāñ jyotiṣā svena sūkṣmān|
> sarvān etān punar api śanaiḥ svātmani sthāpayitvā
> hitvā sarvān viśeṣān vigata-guṇa-gaṇaḥ pātv asau nas turīyaḥ||

It is in this third sense that the word *upajāti* has been used above.

In Telugu prosody, the word *upajāti*, it is interesting to note, is used to denote miśra-gaṇa verses.

2. Namely 5|35; 16|70; 19|26; 21|39; 33|23; 49|7, 8, 9; 53|37, 44; 55|60; 60|31; 64|5; 65|18; 68|43, 44; 69|49; 30|61; 33|26; 83|54; 84|55, 62; 85|63; 94|58; 97|10; 168|7; 169|15; 170|20; 22; 171|25-28, 30-33; 172|34-37, 39-42; 173|48-53; 174|54, 58; 176|68, 70; 177|80; 179|6, 8; 192|60; 203|53. Of these numbers, the first is that of the page of the Kāvyamālā edition of 1900, and the second, of the verse printed on that page.

and quantity of whose *akṣaras* are certain and whose gaṇas can therefore be determined. In these sixty verses too, pādas of the type RVB greatly predominate; but the number of *sama-vṛttas* is only 22, and of *ardha-sama-vṛttas* (RRB, RVB; RRB; RVB) ten. The remaining verses are *upajātis*, there occurring in each verse, beside pādas of the type RVB, usually one pāda of the type RRB, and less frequently, one pāda of the type RVR, RRV, BVB, RR, RV or RB. Very rarely, there are two RVB pādas in an *upajāti* verse, and two pādas of the other types mentioned.

I cite here from this book some examples of *upajāti* verses, and one of an *ardha-sama* verse :

5|35 क्षेत्रभूमिः पञ्चगोणिरपि शतगोणिरासीन्महाफला ।
तत्र पाति पार्थिवे कृतवीर्यसूनौ कृतात्मनि ॥

Cp. also 16|70.

19|26 यमधिशिश्ये मृगकुलं विभयमध्यास्त यं भूपतिः स्वयम् ।
नाध्यतिष्ठत्तं वनोद्देशमन्यो नृपाप्रतीक्षया ॥

83|54 यदवरमाग्रहायण्या योयं नृपायातिवत्सरः ।
उत्सवं करिष्यते तत्र स्वामी त्वयेक्ष्यताम् ॥

172|40 तात शीघ्रं गत्वा तत्र धौता वनस्येव मारुतः ।
विधवितास्य भव विपक्षस्य पौत्रस्य मोक्षेण शुष्यतः ॥

Ch. 173|52; 171|26; *27*, 30, 32, 33; 172|52; 179|8,

172|39 मास्मृषतास्य मान्यदोषांश्च स्मार्याः परं केवलं गुणाः ।
पौत्रस्य भवताद्यमास्मरिषत स्मार्याः परं केवलं गुणाः ॥

84|62 अस्ति नाम त्वद्विरोधो राजा यत्तरिष्यति त्वं सरिज्जले ।
किं किलेदं पीडितं क्रीडां न करिष्यते वारिजन्मनाम् ॥

The last-cited verse (84/62) is an *ardha-sama* verse whose odd and even pādas are of the type RVR and RVB respectively. The others are *upajāti* verses; and in the first three of those cited above, pādas abd are of the type RVB while pāda *c* is of the type RV, RR and RB respectively[1]. In 172|40, pāda a is the type RR and the rest of the type RVB, while in 172/39, the four pādas are respectively of the type RRB, RVB, RRV, RVB.

Pandits Śivadatta and K. P. Parab have given at the beginning of the above-mentioned edition of the *Rāvaṇārjunīya* two pages containing what they call a *Chando-nidarśana-patra*, in which they have given an explanation of the metre employed in

1. These pādas thus consist of two gaṇas only and not three.

twenty, out of the sixty, verses that I have referred to above. They make no mention of miśra-gaṇas, but regard these verses as *viṣama-vṛttas* with pādas composed in different varṇa-gaṇa metres. Thus 5/35, for instance, contains according to them four pādas composed respectively in Paṅkti-931,[1] Paṅkti-332 Usṇiḥ–75 and Paṅkti–931; and 19|26, of four pādas composed in Bṛhatī-232. Jagatī-1320, Bṛhatī-299, Anuṣṭubh-165. All this is merely a description in technical language of the sequence of *laghus* and *gurus* in the two halves of the verse: the two pandits seem to have made no effort to find out if there is any characteristic common to all these verses, but regard each verse as *sui generis*. Such an explanation can be given of any verse whatsoever, of verses of the *mātrā* metre as of the *varṇa* and miśra-gaṇa metres, and it hardly deserves serious consideration.

Before leaving the subject of miśra-gaṇa metres, I would like to make an observation about their relation to the metres known as *jāti* and *vṛtta*. *Jāti* is the name applied to the metres in which the moras of the syllables are taken into consideration. There are two classes of such metres, (1) *gaṇa-chandas* or *mātrā-gaṇa* metres comprising Āryā, Gīti, etc. in which the metre-units are mātrā-gaṇas; and (2) mātrā-chandas or mātrā metres in the narrower sense, comprising Vaitālīya, Aupacchandasika, Mātrā-samaka, etc., in which the units are, not mātrā-gaṇas, but single mātrās. Similarly, the *vṛtta* metres too consist of two classes,[2] (1) varṇa-gaṇa metres comprising the metres in the chandases Uktā, Atyuktā, etc., and Daṇḍakas whose units are varṇa-gaṇas; and (2) varṇa metres in the narrower sense, comprising Vaktra, Aparavaktra, etc. in which the units are, not varṇa-gaṇas, but single varṇas. The word *vṛtta* signifies literally 'turning', *i.e.*, the path pursued by the pāda (or ardha) among laghus and gurus, and denotes therefore a unique arrangement or sequence of a definite number of *laghus* and *gurus*. The name is thus apposite in connection with varṇa-gaṇa metres, since expressions like Śālinī-vṛtta, Mālinī-vṛtta, etc., can denote one arrangement only of a definite number of *laghus* and *gurus*. *Jāti*, on the other hand, signifies 'class, species, genus'; and it is

1. That is, the 931st, out of the 1024 forms of the Paṅkti pāda of 10 syllables; and similarly in the other cases.

2. But in practice, the word *vṛtta* is laxly used in connection with the mora metres also.

appropriate in connection with the mora metres Āryā, Vaitālīya etc.; for these expressions denote, not one, but many[1] arrangements of a definite number of *laghus* and *gurus*.[2]

Since, as we have seen above, the miśra-gaṇas R, V and B have, like the mātrā-gaṇas (ṭa, ṭha, etc.) many forms, the combination RVB denotes in fact 20×10×5 or 1000 different arrangements of *laghus* and *gurus*; and hence the miśra-gaṇa metres too fall under the division of *jāti* metres.

3. On pp. 177, 182 of the *Yaśastilaka* (Vol. I) are found the following two stanzas which Somadeva himself calls mātrā:—

सकलमङ्गलधाम जयकाम कमलालय
निखिलनय शौर्यनिगद कदनैकदोहद ।
आनिगममसमानबल वैरिकाल
जय जीवकामद ॥
कुवलयोत्सवचन्द्र नृपतीन्द्र लक्ष्मीवर
कीर्तिसरदमृतवृष्टिपल्लवितबुधवन ।
आभुवनमभिमानधन धैर्यसदन
जय विहितसदवन ॥

In Śrutasāgara's explanation of the first verse, his words describing the nature of its metre are lost; on p. 182. he merely writes *mātrā-chanda idam*. It is difficult to determine from the verses themselves whether they are *dvipadīs* with 40 (41) and 78 (79) moras in each half, or *catuṣpadīs* containing in the four

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1. As stated by Halāyudha (p. 83 of above-cited edition), there are 80 varieties of the *Āryā*; that is, the term *āryā* can be used in connection with 80 different arrangements of *laghus* and *gurus*.

2. But the inclusion of varṇa metres proper, that is, of Vaktra, etc., in the *vṛtta* class is not correct, as Vaktra, for instance, can denote several different arrangements of *laghus* and *gurus*. Similarly, the inclusion of the mora metres Gītyāryā, Jyotis, and Saumya (regarding the description of these metres, see *Piṅgala-chandas-sūtra*, 4-47, 49, 50) under *jāti* too, is incorrect as these expressions can denote but one arrangement of *gurus* (all, and *laghus*. The Āryā varieties Lakṣmī, Ṛddhi, Buddhi, etc. that are described in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* (I, 58 ff.) are all, properly speaking, *vṛttas* and not *jātis*; for these terms can denote but one arrangement of *laghus* and *gurus*.

pādas 21 (22), 20 (21), 18 (19) and 9 (10) moras, or a different number of moras. This metre is not described in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa;* nor, so far as I know, are instances of its use met with elsewhere.

4. On pp. 178, 183, *op. cit.,* are found the following two verses which Somadeva calls *Catuṣpadī* :

इति महति भवति किंचिद्वदामि निःशेषस्तु नो पारयामि ।
वक्तुं त्वदीयगुणगरिमधाम सर्वज्ञवचनविषयं हि नाम ॥
नृप महति भवति किंचिद्गिरामि वक्तुं गुणमखिलं नोत्तरामि ।
दीप्तिर्द्युमणेरवनीश यत्र का शक्तिः काचमणेर्हि तत्र ॥

The Catuṣpadī described in the Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa (I, 67-69) consists of four pādas of 30 moras each or 120 moras each, while another described on p. 112 of the above-mentioned edition of *Piṅgala-chandassūtra* contains 24 moras only in each pāda. The pādas of the above two verses, however, consist of four feet of four moras each. The *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* (I, 126) calls this metre by the name of Pajjhaliyā (Pajjaliyā) which is differently rendered into Sanskrit as Paryaṭikā, Pajjhaṭikā and Projjhaṭikā (*yathendur amṛtaṃ projjhati evaṃ projjhaṭika-śabdo 'pyamṛtaṃ kṣaratītyarthaḥ*) by the commentators; and this seems to show that the correct Sanskrit term had gone out of use at the time when these commentaries were written. Now, on pp. 178-180 and 183-188 *op. cit.,* Somadeva gives 28 verses which he calls Paddhatikā and whose pādas consist of four feet of four moras each; but the last foot is not invariably ◡—◡ . Thus, for instance, pādas *ab* of verse 178 end in ◡ ◡ — ; and so do pādas ab of verse 211. According to the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* (I, 129), the metre of these two verses is Pādākulaka and not Pajjhaliyā.

Similarly Somadeva gives on pp. 181, 189 *op. cit.,* the following two verses which he calls Ghattā:

इति बुधजनकामः क्रीडितरामः सकलभुवनपतिपूजित ।
कृतबुधजनकामः क्षितिपतिरामस्त्वमिह चिरं जय विश्रुत ॥
नृप नृपतीश्वर भूरमणीश्वर यदिदमखिलगुणसंश्रय ।
उक्तं किंचित्त्वत्स्तुतिकृतिचित्तचित्रं न महोदय ॥

According to the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* (I, 99), the Ghattā consists of two halves with 31 moras each. The first only of

the above two verses satisfies this definition; the second, on the other hand, has only 29 moras in each half, and is an example of Culiyālā, defined in *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa*, I, 167.

This difference in nomenclature between Somadeva and the author of the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa* is indeed remarkable; and it is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the latter lived at least 300 years later than the former. It is however difficult to understand why Somadeva himself has called two verses Catuṣpadī and twenty-six other verses, that are exactly similar to them, Paddhatikā[1].

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1. On p. 161 of the Kannaḍa *Pañcatantra* of Durgasiṃha is found the catuṣpadī stanza:jaya divija-gaṇārcita-cāru-caraṇa duritogra-tamaḥ-paṭaloṣṇa-kiraṇa|tāpiñcha-sama-cchavi-nīla-varṇa vidyādhara-kāntāgīta-varṇa|| which is followed by six similar stanzas on pp. 162-3 and are called Paddaḷi by Durgasiṃha. Each pāda of these stanzas consists of four feet of four moras each; and since *paddaḷi* seems to be a *tadbhava* of *paddhati*, the use of the name Paddhatikā for stanzas of this type is attested by Durgasiṁha also.

As we have seen above, the lines of the Mandānila-ragaḷe too consist of four feet of four moras each; but while the Paddhatikā is a catuṣpadī, there is no limit to the number of lines that may constitute a Mandānila stanza.

It is therefore interesting to note in this connection that the editors of the *Pañcatantra* in question have looked on the seven Paddaḷi verses referred to above as forming but one stanza. That is to say, while the author calls the verses Paddaḷi and therefore regards them as catuṣpadīs, the editors (unconsciously?) look on them as Mandānila-ragaḷe.

THE NĀMPALI GRANT OF YUVARĀJA RĀJENDRA VARMA, GAṄGA YEAR 314.*

BY

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The plates now edited belong to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library; when my attention was drawn to them some time ago, I found on a cursory examination, that they contained an interesting early Gaṅga record, and I at once applied to the curator of the library for a loan of the plates; he readily placed them at my disposal, and I edit the record from the original plates.

The record comprises three rectangular plates 8″ x 3½″, the first and last plates being engraved only on the inner side; the plates are thick and the engraving is fairly clear though not deep. The ring fastening the plates is cut and is about 4½″ in diameter and 4|10″ thick; the seal has disappeared.

The alphabet resembles that of other early Gaṅga records and shows a slight admixture of *nāgarī*, and the language of the record is Sanskrit with many mistakes and perhaps an admixture of the local dialect. The record shares the usual features of Gaṅga records in its orthography as will be seen by a perusal of the notes to the text. The bulk of the inscription is in prose; the two usual imprecatory verses said to be cited from Vyāsa are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre (ll. 24-27), and verse in *Vasantatilakā* that follows is defective in the latter half.

Opening with the usual Kaliṅga Gaṅga *praśasti* (ll. 1-12), the record mentions Yuvarāja Śri Rājēndra-Varma, the son of Ana (nta) varma. It should be noted that this is the first record of the Early Kalinga Gaṅgas to mention a Yuvarāja by the side of the ruling sovereign. The object of the grant is to record the

*This paper formed the subject of a communication made to the Archaeological society of South India at its meeting held on 13-2-35.

gift, in perpetuity, by the Yuvarāja, of the village of Nāmpali in the Nidijeru-viṣaya, freed from all taxes and imposts, for the spiritual merit of the donor and his parents. The donee is called Sāmirāja, the son ot Śrī Guṇamarāja, an ornament of the Ayana-kula (ll. 13-18). The boundaries of the village are then described (ll. 19-23). Then follow two verses from Vyāsa, the usual imprecation (ll. 23-27); a third verse, rather corrupt in the latter half, announces the donor's wish that his successors, whether they be kings of his own line or another, should protect this charity (ll. 27-30). The date follows, only the year in the Gaṅga era being given in the words: *Samvachara Śatataye Caturdasotare.* (ll. 30-31). The grant was composed by Mahā-sandhivigrahi Raha Śrī Sāmanta and engraved by Śrī Dāmacandra. (ll. 31-32).

The date *śatataye caturdasotare* is in itself somewhat confusing; because *śatataye* lends itself to two emendations, *śatatame* and *śatatraye.* The latter is, however, the correct form; because we have another grant,[1] dated in the Gaṅga year 342 in which Rājēndravarma figures as the ruling king, which makes it probable that he was *Yuvarāja* twenty-eight years earlier, 314—the date of the present record. Further in 304 (Gaṅga era) we have a grant of Anantavarman[2]. Moreover 114 will be too early a date for our record judging from its paleography. Again, a son of Sāmirāja, the donee of our grant, is also mentioned in the grant of 342 just mentioned. If these identifications of the persons mentioned in the two sets of plates are correct, we may correct the name of Rājēndra's father given as Anavarma (l. 13) in our record into Ana (nta) varma. The initial year of the Gaṅga era is now generally taken to be 495-6 A. D.,[3] and our record will therefore be of 809-10 A. D.

TEXT.

PLATE I.

1. [ओं[1]] स्वस्तिमर[2]पुराणुकारिणं[3] सर्वर्तुसुखरमणीया-
2. द्विजयवर्त[4] कलिङ्गनगरवासकान्महेन्द्राचलाम-

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1. No. 13 of 1917-18; *ARE*. 1918, II 15.
2. *EI*. iii, p. 17.
3. *Indian Antiquary*, 1932 p. 237.

1. Spiral at the beginning of the line.
2. Read स्वस्त्य.
3. Read पुरानुकारिणः.
4. Read वत:

3. ळशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरासं[5]कळभुवं[6]-
4. ननिर्माणकसुत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचुडा[7]मणे-
5. र्भगवतो गोकर्ण्न[8]स्वामिनश्चरणयुगळप्र-
6. णामाद्विगतकळिकळङ्कानकाहवसन्क्षा[9]भंजानत-
7. जयशव्दं[10]प्रतापावनतसमस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडाम-
8. णिप्रभामञ्जरिपुञ्जरञ्चितवरचरंणं[11]सितकुमुद-

PLATE II (*a*).

9. कुन्देन्दूवदातदिग्दिशविनिगतयसं[12] ध्वस्तारातिकुळा-
10. चळो नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिन्यसौर्यौं[13]दार्यसत्य-
11. त्यागादिगुणसम्पदाधारभूतो गङ्ग[ा]मळकुळतिळ-
12. कमहाराजश्री अन[न्तं*]वर्म्मसुनू युवं[14]राजश्रीराजे-
13. न्द्रवर्म्मं[15] कुशळी निदिजेरुविषये नाम्पळिग्राम-
14. कुटुम्बजनपदं[16] समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वो
15. भवता यतोयं ग्राम[16a] सर्वकरभरपरिहृत्या-
16. चन्द्रार्कप्रतिष्ठा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्यां[17]भि[वृ]

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5. Read गुरोस्सकळ
6. भ has been engraved twice over and the उ sign overlaps the following व.
7. Read सूत्र and चूडा.
8. Read गोकर्ण.
9. Read संक्षोभ.
10. Read शब्द.
11. Read चरणः The letter ण has been engraved twice, the first time in continuation of र.
12. Read दिग्देशविनिर्गतयशाः
13. Read दाक्षिण्यशौर्यौं-
14. Read सूनुर्युव.
15. Read वर्म्मा.
16. Read जनपदान्.
16a. Read यं ग्रामः
17. Read पुण्या.

PLATE II (*b*).

17. द्वये अयनकुलतिळकश्रीगुणमराजसूनुश्रीसा-
18. मिराजस्य सलिलधारापुरस्वरेणं[18] प्रतिपादित[1] अ-
19. त्र च सामालिङ्गानि लिख्यिन्ते[20] पूर्वस्थि[21]। देशि नद्या ततो पू-
20. र्वदक्षिणमध्ये उसरतिन्त ततो दक्षिणस्य[22] दिशि अ
21. पि खण्डिवनराजिक ततो पश्चिमस्य दिशि[23] तडा-
22. कस्यर्द्धगुण्डेरिवापि तृकूटवुरजखण्डिख ततो उतर-[24]
23. स्य[25] दिशि वनरजिका[26] वटवृक्षकदम्बवृ[क्षं*]श्च अस्य च व्यास
24. गिता शिलोका[27] भ[व*]न्ति वहुभि[28]र्वसुधा दता[29] राजभि[30]सगरादि-

PLATE III.

25. भि[31] यस्य यस्य यदा भुमि[32] तस्य तस्य तदा फलं
26. स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेति[33] वसुन्धरा[34] स विष्ठा-

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18. Read पुरस्सरेण.
19. Read प्रतिपादितः.
20. Read लिख्यन्ते.
21. Letters पूर्व written over an erasure. Road पूर्वस्यां.
22. Read दीक्षणस्यां.
23. पश्चि and दि written over an erasure. Read पश्चिमायां.
24. Read उत्तर .
25. Read स्यां.
26. Read राजिका.
27. Read गीताः श्लोका.
28. Read बहुभि.
29. Read दत्ता.
30. Read राजभिस्स-
31. Read भिः.
32. Read भूमिः.
33. Read हरेत.
34. Read बसुन्धरां.

27. यां क्रुमिभूत्वा[35] पितृभि[36] सह पच्यते मद्वंङ्शजा[37] पर-
28. महीपतिवङ्शजावा पापादपेत्य[38]मनसो भुवि भा-
29. व[39] भूपा ये पालयन्ति मम धर्मवरं असेसतश्च
30. मया विरचिताञ्जलिमे समुं[40]द्यगाङ्गेयवङ्शप्रवर्द्धमानविजय-
31. राज्यसम्वछर शततये[41] चतुर्दशोतरे[42] लिखितमिदं माहासन्धि-
32. विग्रहि[43] रह श्रीसामन्तेन उत्कीर्ण्नं[44] न चाक्षसालिना श्रीदाम-
चन्द्रेन[45]

35. Read क्रुमिर्भूत्वा.
36. Read पितृभिस्सह.
37. Read मंद्वशजाः.
38. Read पेत.
39. Read भावि.
40. Read somewhat like: ये पालयन्ति मम धर्मवरं विशेषात्तेभ्यो मया विरचिताञ्जलिरेवमद्य.
41. Read शतत्रये.
42. Read दशोत्तरे.
43. Read महासान्धिविग्रहिक.
44. Read उत्कीर्णं.
45. Read चन्द्रेण.

SEMANTIC DIVERGENCIES IN INDO-ĀRYAN LOAN WORDS IN SOUTH DRAVIDIAN.

BY

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Continued from Vol. VIII, Part iii, page 266.

23. *daṇḍam* 'fine' 'punishment'.

Mal. usage shows new meanings for the adaptation *daṇṇam.*[1]

(*i*) 'pain' 'suffering'.—

ēdume daṇṇam-illāda karmam mama mādāv-inikku vidhiccadu ṉaṉṉallō[2] (it was well that my mother decreed for me a duty so free from suffering)—ER, Ayodhyākāṇḍam.

rātri-y-il kaṇṇu kāṇmān daṇṇamill-avarkaḷku (they have no difficulty in exercising their power of vision at night)—PT, III, 18.

(*ii*) *dēha daṇṇam* which originally meant 'bodily labour' is restricted in many Mal.—speaking areas to 'the labour of cooks while making preparations for an extensive feast'. The compound is often contracted to *dēhaṇṇam*; and the idea of 'labour' is sometimes lost sight of, the phrase then being equated to 'the service of cooks in connection with a feast'.

(*iii*) A unique development, met with only in the mass-colloquial, is the meaning 'disease' 'scourge' (< 'bodily suffering')· Cf. *dīnam* (discussed below) for a similar evolution of meaning.

daṇṇavum dīnavum piḍiccu, vaḷarē āḷugaḷ āṉāṭṭil marikkuṉṉu (many people are dying in that land, stricken with diseases)—colloquial.

24. *dāhaḥ* 'burning' 'feverish heat' 'conflagration'.

'Thirst' is a signification appearing for this word in Tam., Mal., Kann. and Tel. The word appears in literary texts with this meaning.

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1. *ṇṇ*-of Mal. *daṇṇam* is due to nasal assimilation characteristic of Mal., as in *khaṇṇam* (piece) adapted from OIA *khaṇḍa.*

2. I have used the symbol *ṉ* with a dash below to denote the *dental* variety of this consonant. Dental *ṉ* is an independant phoneme in Mal. In the previous instalment of my paper, the *alveolar* nasal of *some* Tam. and Mal. illustrations has been *wrongly* printed with a dash mark below.

Tam. *paci tāham*—Tāyumāṉavar's songs [University Selections, p. 434.]

Mal. *veḷḷam kōri kuḍicc-avar dāhatte tīrttu* (quenched their thirst by drinking water)—KG, Kāḷ., *l.* 46.

Kann. *dāha goḷḷ*-(to become thirsty)—only in north Mysore.

Tel. *dāhāniki pōyāḍu* (he went to take liquid refreshments).

Tam. *tāham* (sometimes appearing in tne speech of the lowest classes as *tāvam*) and Mal. *dāham* are indispensable words of daily use signifying 'thirst' in the colloquials of these speeches. The adaptation does not appear to be quite so commonly used for 'thirst' in the other south Dravidian colloquials; Kann.[1] has *nīr-aḍikke*, Tel. *nīru vaṭṭu* or *dappi* and Tuḷu has *liruṣœ* (OIA *tṛṣā* 'thirst').

25. *dīna* 'wretched' 'distressed'.

This is another word for which unique meanings appear in Mal., beside the older OIA significations.

(*i*) The word as used in the following citations has to be evaluated as 'pity':

dīnam-eṉṉiyē koṉṉu (killed without pity)—EBh.

dīnam-illādavaṟkku dīnaril kṛpayuṇḍāmō (would those who have no sense of pity feel for the lowly and the wretched ?)

(*ii*) *dīnam* means 'disease' in the modern colloquial of Mal. Though this meaning does not occur commonly[2] in the old classical texts, I have found an instance of the use of *dīnam* with the meaning 'bodily illness or weakness' in the fourteenth century (?) Rāmakathā-p-pāṭṭu:

tāymār mūvaṟkkum dīnam-aṟa auṣadaṅgaḷ ceydu uḍalai tēttuvarām (they tended the bodies of the three wives of

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1. Kann. *dāvura*, means 'thirst', 'desire', 'need'; *ḍāvara* means 'burning' also besides these significations. These forms appear to be borrowings from MIA or NIA speeches. Whether the OIA source-form is *tāpa* or *dāha*, I cannot say. Indo-aryanists could probably shed light on this point.

2. The following from eighteenth-century Kuñjan's works would perhaps illustrate the stage of transition from 'lowly, wretched' to 'sick, diseased' in Mal:—

mēniyum meliññati-dīnan-āyidu (his body became shrunk, and he looked wretched)—OT, p. 215.

dīnanmārum kālinu muḍakkuḷḷōr kaṇṇu kāṇadē-y-uḷḷōr (weak-bodied men, the lame and the blind)—PT, III, lines 53, 54.

Daśaratha, by giving them medicines calculated to remedy their bodily weakness or illness)—RP, Bāl., 6.

This meaning, however, is essentially a colloquial one, not usually found introduced even in late texts like PT and OT; VP, however, has *atyantam dīna-v-um kaimaḷkallō* (the *kaimal* is stricken with dire disease)—I, p. 64.

26. *dveṣyam* 'hatred' 'enmity'.

The adaptation *dēṣyam* in modern Mal. colloquial means only 'anger' without any idea of 'enmity' being necessarily involved: *yajamānan vēlakkāranōḍu dēṣya-p-peṭṭu* (the master got angry with his servant). The older texts use the word only in the OIA sense: cf. Bh.G, IX, 4.

Cf. colloquial Tam. *āṅgāram* 'anger' from OIA *aham-kāra.*

27. *nirvāṇa* 'liberation'.

This word means 'nakedness', 'nudity' (<liberation from the bonds of dress) in the colloquials of Tam., Kann., Tel. and Tuḷu. The OIA meaning is of course also current in literature. The 16th century Tam. ŚN gives recognition to the meaning 'nakedness' in as much as it equates *nirvāṇi* to *nakkaṉ* [from IA *nagna*] 'a nude person'.

Cf. Tam. *ammaṇam* 'nakedness', ultimately traceable to IA *śramaṇaḥ.*

In Tamil colloquial, one also hears the form *nirmāṇam* used with the meaning 'nakedness'. I think that there is some "confusion" here, both structural and semantic, between *nirvāṇam* and *nirmāṇam* (dishonourable, disgraceful).

28. *pāpam* 'sin' 'evil'.

(*i*) The association of the idea of 'pity' with this word when used in contexts like *ayyō pāvam* [Tam.] and *ayyo pāpa* [Kann.] does not appear to be strictly sanctioned by OIA usage. In Mal. the word *pāvam* denotes 'luckless' 'pitiable' 'destitute of good fortune' in literary texts and in the colloquial. A recent translation of Victor Hugo's novel *Les Miserables* is entitled *pāvaṅṅaḷ.*

Colloquial *ayāḷ-oru pāvam āṇu* would mean 'he is a harmless, innocent fellow.'

(*ii*) In the Mal. colloquial of the present day, *pāvam* has also come to signify 'poor in worldly possessions' 'not rich', as in *dhanavāṉmārum pāva-p-peṭṭavarum* (the rich and the poor).

29. *pramāda* 'intoxication' 'carelessness'.

In Tamil colloquial the word means 'excess', while in Kann. colloquial it signifies 'misfortune,' 'distress' 'danger'. Marāṭhi *pramāda* signifies 'misfortune' 'distress'.

30. *prasādaḥ* 'offering of food, etc. sanctified by being offered to the gods'.

Tam. *śādam* (boiled rice, taken as daily food)—ŚN, XI and NN, S. 400.

Tel. *sādam*.

" *pasādamu* (food)—Āndhranāmasaṅgraham, II, 27.

These forms are adapted from a MIA representative of OIA *prasāda* 'sanctified offering'. Tam. *śādam* is common enough in the colloquial; Tel. *pasādamu* is literary, while *sādam* (I am told) is used only by Vaiṣṇavas in certain localities of Āndhra deśa, the more common and popular colloquial Tel. form for 'boiled rice, taken as daily food' being OIA *annam*.

Cf. Tam. *śāppiḍ-* (to have a meal), literary Tel. *sāpaḍ-* and *pasāpaḍ-*, all of which I derive from original *prasāda-paḍ-* (see my "Dravidic 'Eating' and 'Drinking'" in IHQ).

The use of *śādam* and *sādam* in the language particularly of Brahmins is perhaps traceable to the practice (more common formerly than now) of sanctifying the most important item of their daily dietary by offering it to the household gods before being used.

For the structural peculiarities of the adaptations in Tam. and Tel., one may compare Kann. *sāda* signifying 'clearness, purity' [OIA *prasāda*] and Kann. *pasāda* 'gracious present of clothes' [OIA *prasāda*].

31. *baddha* 'bound' 'tied'.

The Mal. compound *baddha-p-peḍ-*, compounded of the loan *baddha* and the help-verb *peḍ-*, means 'to hurry'; there is also the noun *baddha-p-pāḍu* (hurry). E̱luttaccan (16th century) used *baddha-p-peḍukk-* with the meaning 'to bind as a captive' in ER; but Kuñjan (18th century) has used it in several contexts with the more modern meaning 'to hurry':

adi vēgam baddha-p-peṭṭu bhramiccu naḍan̠n̠u (walked perplexed in hot haste)—OT, p. 379.

baddha-p-peṭṭ-iṅṅane pōn̠n̠ad-endu (why have you come in such haste ?)—VP, I, p. 1.

In the modern colloquial, *baddha-p-peḍ* means only 'to hurry', and *baddha-p-pāḍu*, the noun corresponding to it, signifies 'hurry' or 'urgent business'.

32. *bauddha* 'a buddhist'.

This word has come to mean 'a non-Hindu (who is a bitter antagonist of Hinduism)' in modern Malayāḷam. In British Malabar, it denotes a 'Mopla Moslem', while Gundert cites VD (compiled by Portugese missionaries in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries from materials gathered in the southern part of Cochin state) as equating *bauddhan* to 'a christian'.

The old work Kēraḷōlpatti describes in the second chapter (Mangalore edition, p. 15) the legend of a Malabar *Perumāḷ* (an early King of Kēraḷa) having embraced *bauddhamatam* and gone to Macca (Mecca ?). This work refers to *bauddhanmār* always with extreme contempt. In the sixth chapter it equates *bauddhanmār* to *jōnakar* (cf. OIA *yavanaka*), and as *jōnakar* in modern Mal. means generally Moslems, the story of the Perumāḷ's change of faith (recorded in the second chapter of this work) is usually interpreted as conversion to Mahommedanism.

In modern usage, *bauddhan* in Mal. generally denotes (except in British Malabar) 'a non-Hindu' or 'an opponent of Hinduism'. There seems to be little doubt that the contempt underlying the use of the word in Mal. primarily reflected the animosity felt by orthodox Hindus towards Buddhism. One may in this connection remember that the Malayāḷam country was the native land of Śaṅkara, the great Hindu philosopher, who many a time tilted his lance against the exponents of Buddhism.[1]

The following are other illustrations of the use of the word in the sense of 'a non-Hindu' or 'an antagonist of Hinduism':

Kṣētrasthānaṅṅaḷku adhikāram bauddhanu koḍukkunna mannan mahāmūḍhan (the king who allows a 'Bauddha' to be a temple dignitary is a great fool)—PT, I. l. 212.

nīcanmārām bauddha jātiyanmāṟku (to the 'Bauddhas' who are *nīcas*)—PT, I, l. 217.

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1. These unique semantic developments illustrate the strong influence of IA on Mal. Adaptations current in common Mal., like the following, are noteworthy:—

puccham 'contempt' <'what is insignificant' [OIA 'tail']

mati 'sufficiency' [from a very early period; cf. KR, I, 36]—OIA 'understanding', etc.

kaṣṭi 'insufficiency' [OIA *kaṣṭa* 'difficult'.]

bauddhanmāre-k-kaṇḍāl dēham-aśuddham - adeṉṉu kuḷiccē pōrū (he would never fail to take a bath for removing the pollution of the sight of 'Bauddhas')—Pātracaritam, p. 192. (University Inter. Selections.)

bauddhane sēviccu jīvikkayekkāṭṭil, ūrdhvam valiccu marikka tanne śubham (better far to die then to serve a *bauddha*) —PT, II, 204, 205.

33. *bhaṅgī* 'bending' 'undulation' 'wavy'.

Modern Mal. *bhaññi* [*-ññ-* <*ṅg* by nasal assimilation; cf. *aññam* 'limb' <OIA *aṅga*] is 'beauty'.

The word is used commonly in the fifteenth and sixteenth century texts with reference to the curve-like features or movements of the bodies of beautiful women: *aññana tannuḍe-y-aññaññaḷellāme bhaññi-y-il kāṇēṇam-eṉṉu ṉaṇṇi* (desirous of seeing the beautiful curves of the woman's body)—KG, Rugm., l. 965.

aññanā maṇi-y-uḍe añña-bhaññi (the wavy comeliness of the jewel among women) KG.

aññanamārum-āy-aññane bhaññi-y-il ṉiṉṉu viḷaññum-aṉṉāḷ (that day when he was radiant with beauty with the women standing thus by his side)—KG, Vals., l. 157.

From this association of the word with the undulatory comeliness of feminine features, the general sense[1] of 'beauty' should gradually have arisen:

bhaññi-y-il-aññu naḍaṉṉu-toḍaññi (began to walk beautifully)—Pradoṣamāhātmyam, l. 1438.

aññanamāruḍe saññīta bhaññi-y-um (the charm of women's songs)—Dhruvacaritam (University Inter. Selections, p. 202.)

bhaññi-y-il kuṟi-y-iṭṭu (put the caste mark in a fine way)—EBH, Sambhava.

bhaññi kalarṉṉuḷḷa vāṟttakaḷ (nice words), Ceruśśēri Bhāratam.

34. *bhrānti* 'perplexity'.

Modern Mal. *bhrāntu* or *pirantu* is 'madness' 'demented state of mind'.

pēyum pirāntum—PT, II, l. 288.

bhrāntu piḍiccō ? (struck with madness ?)—Pradoṣamāhātmyam, l. 467.

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1. Even today, *bhaññi* in Mal. is used by scholars only in contexts which *imply* some kind of '*symmetrical* beauty'.

35. *mātṛkā* 'source' 'original'.

Mādiri in all south Dravidian speeches means 'sample', 'specimen', 'sort'. It appears to be a very early loan (from MIA?). While OIA *mātṛkā* is the 'mother-source' *mādiri* is but a 'daughter specimen'.

36. *moṣaḥ* 'theft'.

Tam., Mal. *mōśam*, Tel. *mōsa*, *mōsamu*, Kann., Tulu *mōsa* signify 'trick', 'deceit', 'loss', 'fault' and even 'danger'. These are very common words in the south Dravidian speeches:

Tam. *mōśam paṇṇādē* (do not thou employ thy tricks).

" *kaimōśam vandadu* (there was a loss from one's hand or possession).

Mal. *mōśam ṉinnuḍe kāryam aśēṣam* (your affairs are all in a flounder)—OT, p. 227.

Mal. *buddhi-mōśattāl* (on account of a mistake of judgment) —OT, p. 258.

Kann. *avana prāṇakke mōsa-v-illa* (there is no danger to his life).

Kann. *kōmaṭi mōsa hōguvadilla, mōsa hōdare hēḷuvadilla* (the *kōmaṭi* is never deceived; if by chance he is, then he keeps silent about it)—Kann. Proverb.

Tel. *mōsa-pucc-*(to deceive)—SN, 42.

" *mōsa-pō* (to be deceived).

37. *vad-* 'to speak'.
vādaḥ 'speech'.

ōd-, an ancient borrowing from IA, exists in all south Dravidian speeches with the following meanings:

'to recite *mantras*', 'to chant sacred hymns';
'to read scriptures', 'to read' (in a general sense);
'to utter' 'to speak'.

Tam. *ācāryar mantram ōdi, paṭṭuvastraṅgaḷai koḍuttār* (the priest presented the silk cloths to the accompaniment of the chanting of *mantras*)—Brahmins' colloquial.

kādalāgi-k-kaśindu kaṇṇīr malgi-y-ōduvār (those who recite or repeat the word *namaśivaya* in love and in tears).. Sambandar's Hymns.

Tam. 'to read scriptures'—*ōdiyum-uṇara māṭṭēṉ* (though I read the Vedas, I fail to understand)—Tirunāvukkaraśu's Songs.

Tam. 'to speak'—*ōdariya śugarpōla*.

Mal. 'to recite mantras'—*vēdam ōduṉṉa ṉambūrimār* (the Nambūdiri Brahmins who recite *vedas*)—Common in this context in the colloquial.

ōdikkan paṟayuṉṉad-okke ōttalla (all that the religious preceptor says is not gospel truth)—Proverb.

Mal. 'to read'—*bālagarai pala kavinūl paḻḻitannil ōda vaittu* (having initiated his children's education by making them read the works of many poets in the school)—RP, Bāl., VI.

ōdi-y-ellām uṇarndanarām (they understood everything) —RP, Bāl., VI.

'to utter'—*vāṟttagaḷ-iṅṅine taṅṅaḷil-anyonyam-ōduṉṉēram* (while engaged in this mutual exchange of words)—Ceruśśeri Bhāratam (University Inter. Selections, p. 295).

taṉ vēdaṉai-y-ōdiṉāḷ (she gave expression to her pain by saying . . .)—KG, I, l. 60.

Kann. 'to recite scriptures'—*ellā vēdavan ōdidātanu anūcānan embudu* (*anūcānan* is he who recites all Vedas)—cited by Kittel.

Kann. 'to read'—*ā pustaka ōdarē, bāḷa prayojana-v-illa* (there is not much use in reading that book)—common colloquial.

ōd- has gone out of use in the modern Tam. colloquial except in two contexts: 'reciting of *mantras* by priests on ceremonial occasions' in the Brahmins' dialect, and 'whispering a secret into another's ears'.

Mal. *ōd-* is used in the colloquial only in connection with the 'recitation of scriptures, as by Nambūdris'. Mal. *ōttu* is 'recitation of Vedas' to-day, and *ōdikkan* is a 'religious preceptor'.

In Kann. and Tuḷu colloquials, *ōd-* is an indispensable form for 'to read'.

38. *vyākhyāna* 'explanation' 'commentary.'

vakkāṇam adapted (though, MIA) means in Mal. 'contentious argument', 'quarrel'. Tam. *vakkaṇai* 'idle talk' also appears to be connected. Rājendra Cōḷa inscriptions use *vakkāṇippāṉ* only in the older sense "for explaining".

39. *vaḥ-* 'to carry'.

Mal. uses the OIA verb-base for constructing certain formations of its own in the generalised sense of 'being able' 'being proper'.

Older *vah-i-y-ā* [*vaḥ-*, the OIA base; *-i-*, the suffix of the denominative verb; *y*, the glide; and *ā*, the negative affix of

Dravidian] and its contraction *vayyā* have come to denote the aoristic idea of 'not-able':

avann-ōḍuvān vayyā ('to-him for-running not-able' *i.e.*, he is unable to run.)

A relative participle *vayyātta* or *vayyāda* is current, as in *vayyāda kāryaṅṅal ceyyarudu* (things that one cannot fulfil should not be undertaken).

In the colloquial, *vayyā* also implies 'impropriety' 'prohibition, as in *iviḍe naḍakkuvān vayyā* (walking is prohibited here).

A future form *vayyū* [with the affix *-ū*] is also heard in expressions like *ayāḷkē vayyū* (he alone can do it).

vahiyā, the full negative form, and *vayyā*, its contraction, are both found in the literary texts of the modern period (*i. e.*, from the sixteenth century downwards); the modern colloquial uses only the contracted forms. *vayyād-uḷḷa* occurs in OT, p. 372; and VP, III, p. 75 has *talakuttum paniyum koṇḍu vahiyē enikkaviḍe kiḍaṉṉ-uṟaṅṅān* (on account of headache and fever I cannot sleep there).

40. *vācana* 'reading'.

Tam. *vāśi-* and Mal. *vāyi* are forms which have replaced older *ōd-* signifying 'to read'.

Tam. *vāśittal, paḍipp-ōdal* [*paryāyas* for 'reading']—NN, 672.

Mal. *oru bhaṭṭācāryanōḍu kūḍē vaṉṉu vāyiccu* (read with a learned *bhaṭṭācārya*) K, III, p. 20 (Mangalore edition).

The forms denote not only the 'reading of a book' but also the 'sounding of a musical instrument' both in Tam. and in Mal

Tam. *vāśittalai valla pāṇaṉ* (the songster who could sound his instrument)—Nacciṉārkiṉiyar's commentary on lines 36 and 37 of Śiṟupāṇāṟṟuppāḍai of PP.

Tam. *uḍukkai vāśippāṉ oruvaṉum, mattaḷam vāśippāṉ oruvaṉum* (one person for sounding *uḍukkai* and another for playing on the *mattaḷa*)—SII, II, Part II, p. 253.

Mal. *vīṇa vāyikkuka, hārmōniam vāyikkuka* (to play on the *vīṇa* and on the harmonium).

Mal. *vīṇayum vāyiccu* (played on the *vīṇa*)—EBh, Sabhā.

This use of the forms leads me to query whether there may not have been some influence here of MIA *vāj* (OIA *vādya*). I may also observe that Mal. has the noun *vāyana* which means 'reading' or 'playing on a musical instrument'.

MIA appears to have had both *vācana* 'reading' and *vājana* 'sounding of musical instruments'.

41. *śakārah* 'a character in the Sanskrit drama Mṛcchakaṭika'.

Mal. *śakāram* (abuse) and *śakāri-* (to rebuke, abuse) are very common forms in the modern colloquial. I do not know when and in what circumstances these forms were coined and popularised. None of the other Dravidian speeches possess cognates or similar forms. These are certainly not native.

The Mal. forms are probably connected with *śakāraḥ*, the name of a vulgar-minded *śyāla* of the king in the Sanskrit drama Mṛcchakaṭika.

42. *Śikṣā* 'study' 'instruction'.

(*i*) All the south Dravidian speeches show the meaning 'punishment' for the adaptations. This meaning occurs in ancient literary texts, beside the OIA meaning; in the colloquials, however, the adaptations mean only 'punishment.' It is noteworthy that among the NIA speeches Marāṭhi shows this semantic development.

(*ii*) In Mal., *śikṣa* (and *ikṣa* in Nambūdiri Mal.) mean 'excellence' 'goodness' 'propriety'[1] (<'proper instruction or study'):—

śikṣayōḍ-aññu dharikka manassil (understand the thing well)—OT, p. 261.

śikṣayil keṭṭīḍēṇam (should be built properly)—Kēraḷavarma Rāmāyaṇam (University Selections, p. 93).

śikṣayil-aññ-aṟiyiccoru samayē (when it was communicated in the proper way)—OT, p. 205.

bhikṣakkuḷḷa pātram-aśēsam śikṣayil vaṭṭam kūṭṭīḍēṇam (the arrangements for the *bhikṣā* should be made in the proper way)—Pātracaritam (University Selections, p. 196).

śikṣayāy paṭhikkuga (to learn well)—VD cited by Gundert in his Dictionary.

ūṇ-ikṣa-y-āy (the meal was an excellent one) in the language of the Nambūdiris.

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1. The transition of meaning is illustrated by instances like *kuśalavanmār śikṣayil Rāmāyaṇam colliyār* (Kuśa and Lava recited the story of Rāmāyaṇa in a well-taught way)—EBh. Āraṇya.

43. *Śuṇṭhī* 'dry ginger'.

From the time of Kuñjan (18th century), *śuṇṭhi kaḍi-*, *śuṇṭhikk-* (to fall into a temper) and *śuṇṭhi* (violent temper) have been very common forms in Mal.

śuṇṭhi kaḍi- literally means 'to bite dry ginger'; by a process of semantic transference, the meaning 'to show violent temper' appears to have been evolved already in Kuñjan's time (18th century). The same writer uses *śuṇṭh-i-kk-* as a denominative verb with the developed meaning, and *śuṇṭhi* (violent temper) as a noun.

śuṇṭhiccu vannoru samayē (at the time when he came in a fit of temper)—OT, p. 134.

śuṇṭhiccu purappeṭṭu śaṇṭhakk-aṅṅ-orumbeṭṭu (having, prepared for a fight in a fit of temper)—OT, 116.

śuṇṭhi kaḍikkum (will fall into a temper)—Pradoṣamāhātmyam, l. 1469.

43. *śramaṇaḥ* 'ascetic'.

The Tamil colloquial forms *ammaṇam* (nakedness, obscenity), *ammaṇa-t-toṇṭi*, *ammaṇa-k-kaṭṭai*, *ammaṇa-k-kuṇṭi* (naked fellow) are cases of popular semantic evolution from the meaning 'Jaina ascetics (who are often nude)' which *ammaṇa-t-tār* has in literary Tamil. The form *ammaṇa* appears to have been borrowed from a MIA representative of OIA *śramaṇaḥ*.

44. *sandhiḥ* 'union' 'joint' 'peace'

The adaptations of this word in the south Dravidian speeches evidence the following chief developments of meaning:

In the colloquials of Tam., Kann. and Tuḷu, the adaptations [Tam. *śandu* and Kann., Tuḷu *sandu*] mean 'hips' and 'narrow street or lane'. The latter meaning exists for colloquial Tel. *sandu*. West coast Tam. *candi* is 'the region of the buttocks' and Kann. *sandi* is used sometimes for 'the vagina'.

Further, Tam. *candu* stands for 'message', 'messenger', and 'reconciliation' in the literary dialect.

45. *samaya*.

The following appear to be connected with this IA word:

Tam. *camai-* (to be prepared, made suitable, to come to maturity, to be finished)—a literary form which appears in Medieval Tamil with these meanings all of which are evolved from the OIA significations.

„ *camai-kk-* (to make ready; perform, etc.)—This is the transitive form corresponding to *camai-* above; the only meaning now current in the colloquial is that of 'preparing food' or 'cooking', as in *camayal āccā* (is the preparation of the daily food over ?)

Mal. *camai-* (to be made ready, etc.) and *camai-kk-* (to make ready) literary forms—RC. l. 157; KR, Ār. 37, l. 1; OT, p. 168—In literary Mal., expressions like *vaṉṉu camaññu* (managed to join or eventually joined), *camai-* performs the very generalised function of a help-verb. The only context in which the verb occurs in Mal. colloquial is in the phrase *keṭṭi-c-camaikk-* (to prepare elaborately). *Camayam*[1] the noun, means in the colloquial 'garden produce'.

Kann. *same-*, *save-* (to be made ready, to make ready)—are purely literary forms.

46. *saṁsāraḥ* 'worldly life'

(i) Mal. usage evidences a unique semantic development in that the adaptation *saṁsāram* and the denominative verb *samsārikk-* have come to mean 'conversing, conversation' alike in the modern literary texts and in the colloquial. The idea of 'conversing' is expressed in modern Mal. only by these forms:

eṉṉuḷḷa samsāram pōl vaṉṉu kāryaṅṅaḷ-ellām (things came about as in the talk)—OT, p. 359.

pōḍi, ṉinnuḍe samsāram madi (get away, you hussy! I've had enough of your talk!)—OT, p. 360.

orāḷku vēṇḍi samsārikkuṉṉavan (patron who speaks for another)—VD, II, cited by Gundert.

(ii) In certain communal colloquials of Tam., Kann. and Tel., *samsāram* means 'family' or even 'wife'. For instance, in the language of the Tamil Brahmin, *avaṉ periya samsāri* would mean 'he is a man with a large family' and *oṅga samsāram eṅgē-y-irukkāḷ* ? would signify 'where is your wife ?'

47. *sūkṣma* 'minute' 'subtle'.

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1. *Camayam* in the sense of 'equipment of dress' 'ornaments, etc.' occurs in the language of the Kathakaḷi (Malabar drama) actors. It is also used very frequently in VP with the meaning 'ornaments and dress ?'—cf. VP, III, p. 14; VP, I, p. 11, etc.

Mal. *sūkṣi-*, a denominative verb formed from the IA base has developed the meanings 'to look attentively to', 'to watch over' and 'to guard': KG, Pūt., l. 157; KG, Sītā., l. 527.

These meanings should have been evolved from contexts like *sūkṣma buddhi* (subtle intellect), *sūkṣma dṛṣṭi* (careful power of vision), *sūkṣma-k-kuṟavu* (want of carefulness), etc.

Tam. *cūṭcumam* occurs in certain regional colloquials with the meanings 'cunning', 'thrift', and even 'brevity'; these meanings however are not common[1].

1. The list of IA loans (showing semantic divergencies in Dravidian usage), adduced in the preceding pages, is not exhaustive. The intensive examination of each of the south Dravidian speeches would reveal many others of this kind showing varying degrees of divergence in meaning. I give below a few further instances:—

IA	Dravidian.
anyonya 'mutual'	'Friendship'—Mal. [V,]; Tel.
asahya 'unbearable'	'Loathesome'—Tam. *aśiṅgyam*; Tel.
āgraha 'persistence' 'favour'	'Desire'—Mal. 'Anger'—Tel.
ucita 'proper'	'Free, gratis'—Tel.
pūjya 'venerable'	'Cipher, nought'—Mal., Tel.—In astrologers' calculations in Malabar, the shells representing 'cipher' are worshipped [Gundert]; cf. also the use of the word *bhadram* in Mal. for representing 'cipher' in astrological calculation.
bhāgavata 'devotee of Viṣṇu' 'the name of a *purāṇa*'	'Songster'—Tam.;—'religious men, actors'—Tel. *bhāgavatulu*.
sādhu 'fit' 'strong' 'saintly'	'Lacking riches'—Mal.

Two things stand out prominently from the above lists:

(*a*) In quite a large number of instances, the semantic developments are common to two or more among the Dravidian speeches. How far this was due to the cultural intercourse among Sanskrit scholars of the different Dravidian areas and how far one may have to postulate the influence of the southern Prākṛts are questions that have yet to be taken up for discussion. It is quite possible that in some instances at least, the semantic changes had already occurred in the MIA speeches once current

in the south of India. The discussion of the relationships of IA loans in Dravidian to Prākṛt forms should not be confined exclusively to the structural side; the semantic aspects are equally important, and until the semantics of the southern Prākṛts are fully cleared up, it would be difficult to say how far the meaning-changes that I have recorded in the above lists were developed in Dravidian itself.

(*b*) Among all the Dravidian speeches of the south, Mal. shows certain unique meaning-changes: cf. *tāmasam* (residence stay), *daṇṇam* (disease), *dīnam* (disease), *bhaṅṅi* (beauty) *baud-, dhan* (an antagonist of Hinduism), *śakāram* (abuse) *śuṇṭhi* (violent temper), *samsāram* (conversation).

A NOTE ON THE HARAHĀ INSCRIPTION AND KĀLIDĀSA.

BY

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The date of Kālidāsa is even now an unsolved problem of Indian literary history. Many Indian writers, relying on ancient Indian tradition, argue that he flourished at the court of Vikrama, the ruler of Ujjayinī in 57 B. C. Keith, Macdonell and host of other distinguished writers assign him to the beginning of the 5th century, A. D. Dr. Hoernle assigned him to the first half of the sixth century, and his theory after being regarded as erroneous for some time, has now found a stout defendant in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who makes Kālidāsa a court poet of Yaśodharman. The purpose of our note is not to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of these theories, but merely to show by putting side by side the parallel passages from the works of Kālidāsa and the Harahā inscription of 555 A. D. that the poet had become fairly famous by that date, and that his works were intensively studied and copied by people aspiring to poetic fame in the middle of the sixth century. Harahā inscription may thus prove as important for the date of Kālidāsa as the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. which mentions Kālidāsa and Bhāravi as great poets. The parallel passages are:—

(*a*) तस्मात् पयोधेरिव शीतरश्मिरादित्यवर्मा नृपतिर्बभूव ॥

(Harahā inscription, v. 6.)

तदन्वये....प्रसूतः....................

दिलीप इति राजेन्दुरिन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव ॥ (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 1, 12.)

The similarity between the two is clear enough.

(*b*) यस्य.........आचारमार्गं नृपाः

यत्नेनापि ययातितुल्ययशसो नान्येऽनुगन्तुं क्षमाः ॥

(Harahā inscription, v. 8.)

न किलानुययुस्तस्य राजानो रक्षितुर्यशः (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 1, 27.)

Here too the identity of ideas and language is obvious.

(c) ध्वस्तध्वान्तचयाः परास्तरजसो ध्यायन्ति यं योगिनः
यस्यार्धस्थितयोषितोऽपि हृदये नास्थायि चेतोभुवा ॥

(Harahā inscription, v. 1.)

कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽप्यविषयमनसां यः परस्ताद्यतीनाम् ॥

(*Mālavikāgnimitra*, 1, 1.)

Here the phrase ध्वस्तध्वान्तचयाः परारास्तरजसो योगिनः of the inscription carries the same sense as the words अविषयमनसां यतीनाम् of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The words यस्यार्धस्थितयोषितोऽपि and कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽपि can be similarly compared, and the phrase हृदये नास्थायि चेतोभुवा makes merely explicit an idea suggested by the line from Kālidāsa's drama.

(d) लोकस्थितीनां स्थितये स्थितस्य (Harahā inscription, v. 5.)
स्थित्यै दण्डयतो दण्ड्यान् (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 1, 25.)

Here the comparison between the two is merely verbal.

The above similarities are shown even by a cursory glance at this inscription of 23 verses. But one studying it carefully will find other evidences of Kālidāsa being imitated by the writer of the Harahā *praśasti*. The verse नीत्या शौर्ये has been probably suggested by a similar verse ज्ञाने मौनं in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the phrase क्षितिपतेः क्षत्रप्रभावाप्तये जन्माकारि has somehow a suspicious resemblance to आत्मकर्मक्षमं देहः क्षात्रो धर्म इवाश्रितः. Other passages like these are:—

(a) यं प्राप्य साफल्यमियाय धाता (Harahā inscription, v. 6.)
तं वेधा विदधे नूनं महाभूतसमाधिना । (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 1, 29.)

(b) यस्येज्यास्वनिशं यथाविधि हुतज्योतिर्ज्वलज्जन्मना.

....

आयाता नववारिभिर्विनमने मेघावली प्रावृडि

(Harahā inscription, v. 10.)

(1)यथाविधि हुताग्नीनां (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 1, 6.)

(2)दुदोह गां स यज्ञाय सस्याय मघवा दिवम् (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 1, 26.)

c) यस्मिन् कालेऽम्बुवाहा नवगवलरुचः प्रान्तलग्नेन्दुचापा-
स्तन्वन्त्याशावितानं स्फुरदुरुतडितः सान्द्रधीरं क्वणन्तः ।

(Harahā inscription, v. 23.)

विद्युत्वन्तं ललितवनिताः **सेन्द्रचापं** सचित्राः
संगीताय प्रहतमुरजाः **स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम्** । (*Meghadūta*, 2, 1.)

In (*d*) the words printed in thick type should he compared.

Other passages too may be given here. But these, perhaps, would suffice to show that Raviśānti, the author of the Harahā *praśasti*, had the description of the Raghu family and Dilīpa before himself, and that he utilised them fully along with some verses from the *Meghadūta* and *Mālavikāgnimitra* in composing the panegyric of the Mukhara dynasty.

A NOTE ON MAYŪRA AS A WRITER ON PROSODY

BY

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The knowledge that we possess about Mayūra and his works is very meagre. The current belief that he was a court-poet of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (A.D. 606-647) and the brother-in-law or father-in-law of Bāṇa is based on a commentary on Mānatuṅga's *Bhaktāmara-stotra* and the verse *aho prabhāvo vāgdevyā yan Mātaṅga-divākaraḥ | Śrīharṣasyābhavat sabhyaḥ samo Bāṇa-Mayūrayoḥ* of the (younger) Rājaśekhara, that is, on sources both of which seem to me to be untrustworthy. Peterson's opinion, too (Introd. to his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, p. 86), that Mayūra is referred to by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* seems to be likewise erroneous; for the Mayūra who is mentioned as Bāṇa's contemporary and friend in that book was a *jāṅgulika* (curer of snake-bites), and to identify him with the poet Mayūra is as illegitimate as to identify the singer (*gāyana*) Somila mentioned in the same connection in that book with the poet of that name whom we know as the collaborator of Rāmila.

Of the works of Mayūra, two, namely, the *Mayūrāṣṭaka* and the *Sūrya-śataka* are fairly well-known and are printed; a *Khaṇḍa-praśasti* of his is cited by Ruyyaka in his *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (Winternitz, *Ges. d. Ind. Litteratur*, 3, 121, n. 3) and a *kośa* attributed to him is mentioned by Burnell in his *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore* (Winternitz, *op. cit.* 3, 409, n. 1).

It is therefore of interest to note that a work on prosody by Mayūra is alluded to by the Kannaḍa author Nāgavarma (c. 1040 A.D.) in the following stanza which occurs in his *Chandōmbudhi* and also in his *Abhidhāna-vastu-kośa*:

jita-Bāṇaṃ Hari-yant adhaḥ-kṛta-Mayūraṃ Tārakārāti-
yan-
t ati-Māghaṃ śiśirāntyad ante surapa-prōccaṇḍa-
kōdaṇḍad an-|

te tirōbhūta-Guṇāḍhyan abja-vanad ant-āvirbhavad-
Daṇḍi Bhā-
ratad ant ātta-Dhanaṃjayaika-vibhavaṃ vāg-
gumphadoḷ Nākigaṃ‖

This stanza may be rendered in Sanskrit as: *vāg-gumphe Nāgavarmā Harir iva jita-Bāṇaḥ, Tārakārātir iva adhaḥ-kṛta-Mayūraḥ, śiśirāntyam ivāti-Māghaḥ, surapa-proccaṇḍa-kodaṇḍam iva tirobhūta-Guṇāḍhyaḥ, abja-vanam iva āvirbhavad-Daṇḍī, Bhāratam iva ātta-Dhanaṃjayaika-vibhavaś* [*ca*]. It can be seen that Nāgavarma applies to himself six epithets in this stanza. Now there are six books written by Nāgavarma, and each one of these epithets alludes to one of these six books. Thus the epithet *jita-Bāṇa* refers to the Kannaḍa *Kādambarī* (an adaptation of Bāṇa's work) written by him, the epithet *āvirbhavad-Daṇḍi* to *Kāvyālōkana* (which is, like Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, a treatise on *Kāvyālaṃkāra*), the epithet *ātta-Dhanaṃjayaika-vibhava* to his *Abhidhānavastu-kośa* (which, like the *Nighaṇṭu* of Dhanaṃjaya, is a collection of synonyms) and the epithet *tirobhūta-Guṇāḍhya* (= Śarvavarman; for the story of Śarvavarman's vanquishing Guṇāḍhya, see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 6-7) to his *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* (which, like Śarvavarman's *Kātantra*, is a small and simple treatise on Grammar, and by writing which Nāgavarma became known as *Abhinava-Śarvavarman*), while the epithet *ati-Māgha* alludes to a *campū-kāvya* of Nāgavarma consisting mostly of verses, that has not come down to us but was known to and mentioned by the poet Janna (A. D. 1227). The only remaining epithet *adhaḥ-kṛta-Mayūra* must, of necessity, contain an allusion to *Chandōmbudhi*, the remaining work of Nāgavarma. This book, as indicated by the title, is an exhaustiue treatise on Prosody; and it hence follows that the work of Mayūra which (in Nāgavarma's opinion) it threw into the shade, must also have been a book on Prosody. In other words, it becomes plain from the above stanza that Mayūra was the author of a work on Prosody.

A NOTE ON THE FRESCO-PAINTING AT ŚITTAṈṈAVĀŚAL

BY

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Śittaṉṉavāśal, a village about 9 miles north-west of the town of Pudukotah, was once a flourishing centre of Jain influence. There are, in a natural cavern, difficult of access, in the rock on its north-eastern face, 17 beds with stone pillows of Jain ascetics who have starved themselves to death; and their names are inscribed on them in Brāhmī and archaic Tamil scripts (2nd century B. C. to the early centuries of the Christian era.) On the western side of the hill there is facing north-west, a Jaina rock-cut cave temple after the style of Mahendravarman's caves. The *Garbhagṛha* (central shrine) has three Tīrthaṅkaras, *Mahāvīra* being in the centre, and its ceiling is painted with various Jain symbols. The *Mukhamaṇḍapa* (front pillared-hall) has two Tīrthaṅkaras on the northern and the southern sides; the figure on the southern side is that of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara. Its pillars and the ceiling are also painted in good style. The two main pillars supporting the roof of the maṇḍapa have on each face the figure of an 'Apsaras' and that of a king (—perhaps Mahendravarman ?) and some fine scroll work.

The subject of study in this note is the scene of the Lotus-pool painted in the ceiling of this maṇḍapa which is a rare speciman of Pallava painting. The lotus-pool covers the whole extent of the ceiling of the Mukhamaṇḍapa in front of the shrine-chamber. There are a number of lotus flowers, buds and leaves. In their midst are found some matsyas (fish), haṁsas (geese), cranes, a makara, 3 bulls (M. J. Dubreuil calls them buffaloes) 3 elephants and three men each holding a lotus in his hand.[1]

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1. Mr. Longhust Kern Inst., Bibl., 1920, p. 11, says that they are *bathing*. This does not seem to be a correct description as will presently be seen. Matsya and Svastika are two of the Aṣṭamaṅgalas (eight auspicious objects) of the Jainas. The elephant, the bull and the lotus-pool are three of the fourteen dreams dreamt by Triśalā, the mother of Mahāvīra.

The earliest attempt to study the Jain cave at Śittannavāśal and its paintings was made as early as 1910 by Mr. K. Venkatranga Naidu, the curator of Pudukotah museum.

At the request of M. J. Dubreuil, the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao paid a visit to the cave and wrote to him thus, "These paintings are perhaps as old as the shrine and are in fairly good state of preservation and need being copied fully." Unfortunately he did not live up to complete the work.

On the 3rd January, 1920, M. J. Dubreuil made a careful study of the cave and its paintings and published an account of it in the state Gazette.[1] This was later re-issued by him as an article in the Indian Antiquary.[2] He opined that the rock-cut shrine at Śittannavāśal is identical in design with that at Māmaṇḍūr, that the cave was at one time fully painted but only the paintings in the upper part of the edifice are intact; that "the principal subject that is preserved is a grand fresco which adorns the whole extent of the ceiling of the verandah. This fresco represents a tank covered with lotus." Further he added, "this subject of a lotus tank was probably a scene from the religious history of the Jains, which I do not know."

At the request of the then Dewan of Pudukotah, Mr. A. H. Longhurst, former superintendent of the Archælogical Survey of India, Southern circle visited the state and wrote an account of the cave in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1930.

What the lotus-pool symbolises remains a mystery; and in this connection it may be well to bear in mind that "Jaina Art bears a close superficial resemblance to that of Buddhism but maintains a more rigid uniformity."[3] The figure of a lotus-pool with growing lotus plants and birds standing in the water is found in a sculptured panel of the outer railings of the Amarāvatī stūpa.[4]

In spite of this feature in Buddhist mythology and art, the Śittannavāśal cave is distinctly a Jain cave and the paintings refer to a Jain motif.

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1. *Vide* notification dated 13th November, 1920.
2. Vol. LII, 1923, pp. 45-47.
3. Dr. A. K. Kumaraswamy, p. 27, Sculpture—Catalogue of the Boston Museum.
4. *See* figure 1, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, Archaeological Survey, New Imperial Series, Vol. 15.

The lotus tank is a sacred object of the Jainas. When the embryo of Mahāvīra was transferred by Harināgameṣa, Indra's messenger, from the womb of the Brahmin lady to that of the Kṣatriya-Rāṇi Triśalā, she saw fourteen auspicious dreams (Śakuna). One of them was the lotus-pool, *Mānasarovara*, which was "a lake of lotuses resorted to by swans, cranes and ducks" and pleasing to the eye.

But the lotus-pool depicted in the cave seems to be, in my opinion, an attempt at the representation of the parable of the lotus-pool graphically described in the first lecture of the 2nd book of Sūtrakṛt Anga, one of the eleven Angas which comprise the chief sacred books of the Jains.[1] The discourse of the venerable Mahāvīra was reported by Sudharman—a disciple of Mahāvīra and one to whom the world is indebted for the Jain scriptures—to Jambusvāmin, a desciple of Sudharman. The sermon is as follows:—"There is a lotus-pool containing much water and mud, very full and complete, full of white lotuses, delightful, conspicuous, magnificent and splendid. And everywhere all over the lotus-pool there grew many white lotuses the best of Nymphæas, in beautiful array tall, brilliant, of fine colour, smell, taste, touch, ... splendid. And in the very middle of this lotus-pool, there grew one big white lotus, the best of Nymphæas.

"Now there came a man from the eastern quarter to the lotus-pool, and standing on the bank of it, he saw that one big white lotus. Now this man spoke thus, "I am a knowing, clever, well-informed, discerning, wise, not foolish man, who keeps the way, knows the way, and is acquainted with the direction and bent of the way. I shall fetch that white lotus, the best of all Nymphæas. Having said this the man entered the lotus-pool. And the more he proceeded, the more the water and the mud (seemed to) extend. He had left the shore, and he did not come up to the white lotus, the best of Nymphæas, he could not get back to this bank, nor to the opposite one, but in the middle of the lotus-pool he stuck in the mud."

Then there came another man from the southern quarter to the lotus-pool. The second man thought that the first man was not a knowing man but that he alone was knowing. But when he entered the pool, he also stuck in the mud. The same thing happened to a third and a fourth man who came from the western and northern quarters respectively.

1. *See* Jacobi Jaina Sūtras, part II.

There was a monk living on low food and desiring to get to the shore of *saṁsāra*. Standing on the bank of the lotus-pool, he saw the one big white lotus. He did not enter the lotus pool; but standing on the bank of it, he raised his voice. "Fly up on, white lotus, best of Nymphæas!" and lo!, the white lotus flew up.

Then Mahāvīra asked the Nigrantha monks and nuns to comprehend the meaning of the simile. They failed to understand it; so Mahāvīra explained the simile thus:—"Oh long lived Śramaṇas ! meaning the world, I spoke of the lotus-pool; meaning Karman I spoke of the water; meaning pleasure and amusements I spoke of the mud; meaning people in general I spoke of those many white lotuses, the best of Nymphæas; meaning heretical teachers I spoke of those four men; meaning the law I spoke of the monk; meaning the church I spoke of the bank; meaning one preaching of the law I spoke of the (monk's) voice; meaning Nirvāṇa I spoke of the lotus flying up; meaning these things Oh long lived Śramaṇas, I told this simile".

The story here described differs from the scene painted in the ceiling of the cave in some particulars: (1) If the lotus-pool is depicted in the ceiling of the Mukhamaṇḍapa, the best white lotus is found not in the centre of the pool but in the centre of the ceiling of the shrine chamber and in front of Mahāvīra. (2) Another point of difference is that instead of four men coming from the four directions, we have only three men of whom two are very near the centre of the tank. (3) The lotuses drawn in the pool of the ceiling are red, while those described in the parable are said to be white.

In spite of these differences it appears to me that this parable is the best solution of the scene depicted in the ceiling of the Mukhamaṇḍapa of the Jain cave at Śittaṉṉavāśal.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE RGVEDANUKRAMANI OF MADHAVABHATTA—MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 2—EDITED BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A.,D.PHIL. (OXON.), READER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price Rs. 3-8-0; Foreign 7*s.*

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras has placed the Sanskrit world under a deep debt of gratitude by editing the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* by *Mādhavabhaṭṭa.*

As mentioned by the Doctor, the work under review throws light on many interesting points. The author, Mādhavabhaṭṭa, clearly states that the mantras of Ṛgveda were revealed to Ṛṣis before they were redacted into Saṁhitā, cf:—

मण्डलान्यृषयो दृष्ट्वा सर्वे एव समागताः ।
विन्यासं ददृशुः पश्चादिति वृद्धेभ्य आगमः ॥ V, 6, 21.

He also accounts for the chronological order of the ten maṇḍalas of Ṛgveda. The different readings in the same mantra are accounted for by the fact that they were revealed at different times to ṛṣis who had different aims. *cf.*:—

एवमैक्ये रूपभेदः पाठभेदश्च किंकृतः ।
भूयो भूयस्तपस्तप्त्वा वेदान्नानाविधानिति ।
ऋषयो ददृशुः पूर्वे तं तमर्थमभीप्सवः ॥ V, *7*, 26.

पश्यन्ति तांस्तानुद्दिश्य कामानिह महर्षयः ।
ये ये सूक्तेषु दृश्यन्ते ते च भेदस्य हेतवः ॥ V, 6, 29.

तथा दर्शनकालस्य भेदश्चैषां विभेदकः । V, 6, 30.

Patañjali is referred to as the author of a work, *Nidāna* by name, where Vedic prosody should have been dealt with and Vedic mantras should have been commented upon (VI, 1, 14; 6, 8; VII, 6, 10), and also as a grammarian. Mention is made of *Piṅgala, Skandhogrīvī, Krauṣṭhuti* and *Yāska* as writers on Vedic *chandas* and they were called *kavayaḥ* (VI, 5, 8). Yāska is referred to as *Yaska-kulodbhava* (VI, 1, 26; VII, 5, 9). The author also

suggests by his statement शाकल्यः पाणिनिर्यास्क इत्यृगर्थपरास्त्रयः (VIII, 1, 7) that Pāṇini commented upon Vedic mantras and he may have been anterior to Yāska. His regard to Pāṇini is clear from his discussion on his sūtras on the use of लकार's (II, 3, 16-20) and he also seems to suggest by his statement स्पष्टमेवलकारार्थान् पश्यामो ब्राह्मणेषु च (II, 3, 19) that the word *chandas* in the sūtra बहुलं छन्दसि refers only to Saṁhitā and not to Brāhmaṇas.

As regards upasargas, he does not seem to agree with the author of ऋग्वेदप्रातिशाख्य that they are *vācakas* (cf. उपसर्गा विंशतिरर्थवाचकाः) but agrees with Mahābhāṣyakāra that they are *dyotakas* (III, 7, 3).

It is also worthy of notice that the introductory stanza in each adhyāya of the eight aṣṭakas in this work, except the first in each aṣṭaka, begins with a phrase with which the respective adhyāya of the Ṛg-veda begins.

According to him, a *vāidika* is one who officiates as priest and a *lāukika* is one other than he (III, 3, 9; V, 1, 13; V, 7, 25, etc.). From the statement प्रयाजदेवयाजादौ (VII 5, introductory stanza), it seems that the word देवयाज was used in the sense of अनूयाज. His treatment of accent—his assertion that there should be difference in meaning if there is difference in accent in the same word, and the high and the low tones depend upon the meaning and it is better appreciated by lāukikas (I, 6, 6; I, 8, 1), and his statement that context decides the time of action if the tenses used do not conform to the rules of grammar (II, 2, 9) and his emphatic protest against the previous writers with whom he does not agree—are points to prove that he is a critical commentator, full of knowledge.

Dr. Raja has taken great pains in proving that this Mādhava is different from Mādhava (A), in giving reference to all Ṛks in Appendix II-A, in noting different readings in Appendix I and in preparing the index of stanzas in Appendix III. He may have given an index of the names of authors and works. The Sanskrit public will be eagerly waiting for more information regarding Mādhava and others, for his publication of Ṛg-vedabhāṣya by Skandasvāmin and for further publications by him which will throw new light on the history of Vedic exegesis.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

THE UNADISUTRAS WITH THE PRAKRIYASAVASVA OF NARAYANA, MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 7 PT. 2.— EDITED BY DR. T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D., SENIOR LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price. Rs. 2-8-0. Foreign 4 s.

Dr. T. R. Chintamani makes, by his publications in quick succession, the world of Sanskrit scholars really indebted to him. He has shown to the world that many a scholar devoted his energies to write commentaries on Uṇādisūtras. One of them is Nārāyaṇa and his commentary is named Prakriyāsarvasva. His date is mentioned by the editor to be 1586 A. D.

The need for Uṇādisūtras seems to be this:—The great grammarian Śakaṭāyana expounded the theory that *all* words are derived from *verbs* and Gārgya and Nairuktas differed from him and said that not *all* are derived from them. But the latter took into their heads that some derivation or other should be given. Ācārya Pāṇini is said to agree with Gārgya. Hence it will be an interesting study to go into the different kinds of derivations of words given by the commentators. When many scholars have derived सिंहः from हिंस्, this author derives it from सिच्—

Cf. सिञ्चति रुधिरेणाङ्गं भुवं वा सिंहः ।

This author clearly sees that, in the derivation of certain words, he is not satisfied: but he states that he is forced to abide by the decision of टीकासर्वस्वकार.

Cf. अस्माद्धातोरियं संज्ञा साध्येति मुनिशासने ।
किं कुर्मोऽर्थान्वयः कश्चित् लब्धश्चेत् कृतिनो वयम् ॥
सदसद्वापि यत्किञ्चिदुक्त्वा व्युत्पाद्यमित्यदः ।
टीकासर्वस्वकारादिवचनं शरणं हि नः ॥

He might have mentioned that the view of टीकासर्वस्वकार is the same as that of Yāska, the author of Nirukta.

The derivation of certain words is worth investigation:—

तालुः—प्लवते अस्मिन्नास्यजलम् ; शुक्रः—शोचति देवगुणैः ; कपोलः—छादयति दन्तादीन् ; मीनः—मीयते हिंस्यते ; कलत्रम्—गलति भुङ्क्ते भर्तुः स्वम् ; श्रोणिः—श्रूयते न तु दृश्यते वस्त्रच्छन्नत्वात् ; अम्लः—अम्बते रोहिति क्रौर्यात् ; पुत्रः—पुनाति ऋणापाकरणात् ॥

The author seems to have a keen critical acumen from his statement प्राङ्निपातितत्वादिदं हेयम् under the sūtra लूञो मनिन्. His

derivation of विधुरः from व्यध् deserves notice and suggests that the word विधवा also may be derived from the same root as is done by the Western scholars.

Dr. Chintamani has taken great pains in editing the text neatly and critically and in having carefully prepared indexes of works and authors referred to, of sūtras and of words at the end. He is critical and scholarly in his introduction and also promises that 'Details regarding the text of Nārāyaṇa and a comparison of this text with that of others will be set forth in the General Introduction in Part VII.' The get-up is nice and the price is cheap. We wish that the University of Madras will enable the Doctor to give the Sanskrit scholars similar intellectual treats by his publication.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

THE UNADISUTRAS OF BHOJA WITH THE VRTTI OF DANDANATHA NARAYANA AND THE UNADISUTRAS OF THE KATANTRA SCHOOL WITH THE VRTTI OF DURGASIMHA, MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 7, PT. 6.—EDITED BY DR. T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D., SENIOR LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price Rs. 3. Foreign 6 s.

The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja and of the Kātantra school have seen the light of day through the efforts of Dr. T. R. Chintamani. He has explained in his introduction the reasons why Bhoja's work is named सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम् though it has another name शब्दानुशासनम् ; he has also dealt with the date and identity of the commentator Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa.

The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja contain 795 sūtras on the whole. In his desire to explain the derivation of all words, he suggests the following which deserve careful consideration :—

स्वसा—अस्यतेः सुन्युपपदे ऋन्प्रत्ययो भवति ; जामाता—जः इत्येतस्मिन्नुपपदे मिञः तृच्प्रत्ययो भवति ; द्वौ त्रयः—उभेरिप्रत्ययो भवति, दत्र इत्येतौ चादेशौ भवतः ;

Daṇḍanātha in his commentary takes अन्ध्रः to be a क्षत्रियजाति and आभीरः, a शूद्रजाति.

The manuscripts for the first part seem to have much taxed the patience of the editor and hence some errors seem to have escaped his notice which need revision in the second edition.

The Kātantra school differ from the Bhoja school in certain derivations. The former derive इन्दुः from इदि परमैश्वर्ये, while the latter from उदि. The former takes the form स्वशुरः while the latter श्वशुरः

Durgasiṁha equates चण्डाल with निषाद. His vṛtti is scholarly and deserves to be studied by all Sanskrit grammarians.

The editor has taken pains to give the indices of sūtras and words in each part and a short Introduction. It will be a great help to Sanskrit scholars if he kindly takes the trouble of publishing the differences of opinion in the derivation of words by different scholars and examines them in the light of Indo-European Philology. The get-up is good and the price is low. The Sanskrit world will feel grateful to the University of Madras for having enabled the Doctor to bring out his publications in quick succession.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

BULLETINS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY NO. 4. VIJAYANAGARA, ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE—BY N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH. D., READER IN INDIAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price Rs. 2. Foreign 3 s.

The present work of Dr. Venkataramanayya is in many ways a supplement to his previous work, 'Kampili and Vijayanagara'. He has tried to meet much of the criticism that was levelled against him, when he first advanced his views. He has subjected the theory of the Karnāṭaka origin to a searching analysis and has exposed the hollowness of some of the sweeping assumptions connected with that theory.

The work is more of the nature of notes on several of the problems relating to the origin of the city and the founders of the Empire, rather than a comprehensive study of the beginnings of Vijayanagara history.

One or two conclusions of Dr. Venkataramanayya are based on very slender sources. The most noteworthy of these is the statement that Harihara I embraced Islam, and that Bukka I had a Muslim son. Another is the statement that there was 'a conscious effort to overhaul the administrative machinery of the kingdom', on the part of the Kākatīya rulers, Rudrama and Pratāparudra.

It is impossible in a short review like this to do anything more than merely indicate a few of the outstanding dates and facts that are highly controversial, which Dr. Venkataramanayya has done little to back up by substantial evidence. He assigns A. D. 1330 as the last date of Pratāparudra, but points out no authority except the inscription commemorating the grant of land to the temple of Bhramarāmēśvara of Ārumūrugulla. But this inscription has no connection with Pratāparudra, and in no way helps his argument. His last date of Kāpaya Nāyaka, namely A. D. 1360 is open to similar objection. The inscription cited in support of it does not refer to Kāpaya Nāyaka at all.

A few details about Rācakoṇḍa are worth our scrutiny. The incident relating to Śrīnātha's visit to the Court of Rācakoṇḍa is based on a *cāṭu padya*, and we know what value we have to assign to the majority of them unless corroborated by other evidence. On chronological grounds Dr. Venkataramanayya's position in this respect is untenable. He gives A. D. 1420 as the initial date of Siṅgama's reign but states in the next page that Śrīnātha's visit to Rācakoṇḍa should have taken place a little earlier. According to tradition the Koṇḍavīḍu ruler who is mentioned in this story is Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, who had previously fought with the rulers of Rācakoṇḍa. Now, Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma's reign must have come to an end some time before Śaka 1337 expired, *i. e.*, A. D. 1415-16, long before Siṅgama came to the throne.

It is also doubtful whether Siṅgama had the title of Sarvajña at all. We have inscriptional evidence to show that Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma had that title. According to Velugōṭi-vāri-vaṁśa-caritra, Siṅgama also had this title. But the Report on Epigraphy for 1913 assigns this title to Siṅgama, brother of Mummuḍi Reḍḍi of the Korukoṇḍa branch of the Reḍḍis. This Siṅgama is also associated with the famous Vaiṣṇavite scholar and philosopher Vēdānta Dēśika, and was also a great patron of Śrī-vaiṣṇavism. Tradition assigning this title to Siṅgama of Rācakoṇḍa cites as evidence Bammera Pōtana's Bhōginī Daṇḍakam. There are many points against making Pōtana the author of this work, and the whole question needs to be thoroughly discussed.

The identification of Sanaba in EC V Cn 167 is wrong. It is most probably the modern village of Sanapa in Anantapur. Ātakur is perhaps the present Ātmakur in the same taluk, as

proved by a fragment of an inscription found at that place some time back. Both of them were in the Ghanagiri kingdom.

In spite of minor inaccuracies like these, the book is replete with interesting and original thought and is indeed a valuable contribution to the study of the Vijayanagara history. The sources for the early period are somewhat scanty and unless a systematic search for sources is carried out in the country around the ancient city of Vijayanagara, our knowledge of this period is likely to remain scrappy and doubtful.

D. SRINIVASACHARI.

AN INSCRIBED POT FROM NAṆḌŪRU

BY

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

The existence of the inscribed earthenware pot which forms the subject of this paper was first signified to me some months ago by Pandit Veturi Prabhakara Sastri of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. He also gave me for inspection two photographs of the pot, and then, at my particular request, he arranged for the pot being brought over to Madras for further examination and study. I took fresh photographs of the pot and impressions of the short inscription on it and these are now being published. I have often discussed with Mr. Prabhakara Sastri the questions centering round this inscribed pot and I owe many suggestions to him.

Provenance:—The pot now belongs to the Sāradā-niketana, a well-known girls' school maintained in the city of Guntur by Mr. Unnava Lakshminarayana, Bar-at-law and his wife, Mrs. Lakshmi Bai. It was discovered at Naṇḍūru some three to four years ago—more precise information regarding the time of discovery has not reached me—in the course of a digging for what is known as *pāṭi-maṉṉu*, lit. earth from ruins, for use in rice-fields; the workmen came upon what looked like the remains of an old brick wall, which turned out to be a brick encasement for the pot which forms the subject of this paper; it is owing to this encasement that the pot has been recovered entire, except for a small fracture near the mouth. I am not in a position to give any measurements relating to the size of the encasement or of the bricks comprising it. Nor have I seen the platter-like lid which is said to fit the mouth of the pot exactly. Some ashes are said to have been found in the pot at the time of the discovery, they do not seem to have been preserved and no information is forthcoming about the nature of the ash.

Naṇḍūru is a village in the Bapatla Taluq of the Guntur district, ten miles to the north of Bapatla, the Taluq centre. It is about 20 miles S. W. of Bhaṭṭiprolu, the find spot of the celebrat-

ed Bhaṭṭiprolu caskets, and about seven miles due W. of Tsandavolu, which, under the name of Dhanadapura, was once the capital of the Velanāḍu kings.

Measurements: In shape, the pot looks very much like one of the big burial urns recovered from Āddiccanallur and Perumbeir and preserved in the Madras Museum. The height of the pot is 5½", its circumference is 11" near the mouth and 16" at the level of the inscription, and a little more, somewhat lower, at its widest. The bottom is rounded and the pot cannot be easily seated erect without other support. Three simple lines, rather deeply incised, two above and one below the inscription, are the only ornamental features on the pot, besides the repetition of the double-line (in raised strands) a little higher up near the mouth, the two lines being in either case separated by 2/10". The clay has been well and uniformly burnt and presents a dull brown appearance. The inscription is in clear Brāhmī characters of the second or third century A. D. The space between the linear bands above and below the inscription has a mean width of about 8/10ths of an inch, but all the letters except two extend above or below the bands, one of the ligatures extending both ways and measuring nearly 1, 4/10". The inscription is just about 6" long and thus occupies much less than half the circumference of the pot. The letters are quite clear and must have been engraved when the pot was still wet, before its being fired.

The inscription: The style of writing adopted in this short inscription reminds us forcibly of the remarks of Buhler on the script of the inscriptions from Jaggayyapeṭṭa, and may now be compared with the inscriptions from Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa.[1] The sign that looks like a *visarga* and yet differs from it so much by the insertion of a curve between the two dots is, I think meant for a stop. It occurs at the end of each of the two words comprising the inscription.[2] I read the inscription directly from the pot and from mechanical reproductions of it as follows:—

ā ya ma ṇi / pru ṣṭi kā /

In *ā* the length is indicated by a slight stroke on the right side of the vertical of the letter; I do not think that the dot below the left short vertical has any significance. The letter *ṇa*

1. Ind. Pal. Sec. 20 C; EI. XX, p. 11, XXI, pp. 61 ff.
2. The curve alone is used as a stop in Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa G II 1 1. *EI. xxi* plate opp. p. 62.

(in *ṇi*), it may be noted, is intermediate in form between the two forms of *ṇa* illustrated by Buhler in his tables (III l. 20) from Junnar and Jaggayyapeṭṭa; the letter sometimes shows a loop in the Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa inscriptions.[1]

A dot over the left vertical arm of *pru* falls on the lower one of the two lines above the inscription. I neglect this dot like the one under *ā* noticed before. I may add that three or four similar dots are found on the uninscribed surface of the pot, a fact which supports the surmise that these dots do not form part of the inscription. The ligature *ṣṭi* is of rare occurrence; but there seems to be no room for doubt about its reading. Note that the *i* sign starts on the left vertical of *ṣṭa*.

To take up the word *pruṣṭikā* first. The word in this form is uncommon and I am not aware of any other instance of its use in literature or epigraphy. But I think it may be safely connected with *pruṣṭa*, a word known to Amarasiṁha (*pruṣṭa-pluṣṭoṣitā dagdhe*- III. i. 99) in the sense of 'burnt'. An analogous formation to *pruṣṭikā* is furnished by the word *vartikā* derived in the *Uṇādi-sūtras* from *vṛt* with the addition of the termination *tikan*.[2] *Pruṣṭikā* would, if what has been said so far is correct, mean literally anything that is burnt. Though it may thus conceivably mean a pot, I think it is meant to apply to the contents of the pot, the relics of some person preserved in it.

If this interpretation of the second word is correct, the first should naturally give the name of the person whose relics were thus preserved. The name as we read it is Āyamaṇi. Considering the provenance of the pot, one is tempted to say that this word, Āryamaṇi, shows the pot to be the reliquary of no less a person than the celebrated Buddhist divine Āryadeva. It is of

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1. *EI*. XX plate facing p. 16. C 3, l. 4 *hirana*; also A.S.W.I. V Pl. li. Kanheri No. 2 1.2, and several examples in No. 15. *See also* Burgess—Amaravati and Jaggayyapettah Pl. Lx. ii. No. 2. 1.2.

Pandit Prabhakara Sastri is, however, inclined to read this letter as *ni*. He thinks that the correct reading of this and the preceding letter is *muni*. The *u* in *mu* is by no means distinct, but there seems to be a slight extension towards the right of the cross stroke of *ma* faintly visible to the naked eye on the pot and seen also in one of the photographs, though many carefully prepared impressions did not get it in. He also suggests that if it is not *muni*, it may be *mati*.

2. *Uṇādi-sūtras*—ed., Dr. T. R. Chintamani, Part ii, Sūtra 419.

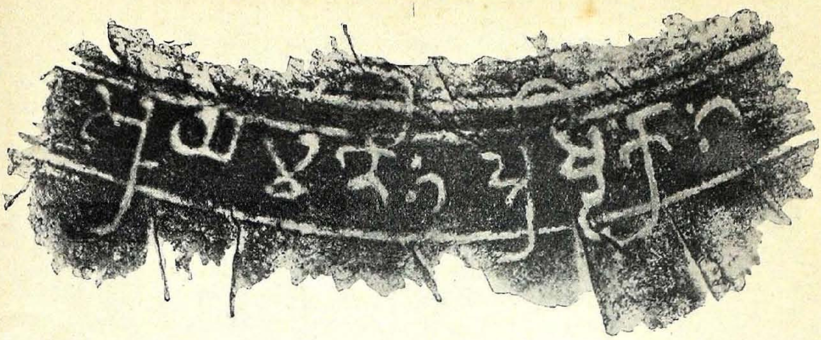
some interest to note, in this connection, that, to this day in the Krishna and Guntur districts, there are said to be found families with the significant names Ayyadevara, which, together with other family names like Thera and Buddharāja, indicates that these families, now Hindu, might be the representatives of the ancient Buddhist houses of the Āndhra country.

The family name Ayyadevara is of special significance, for it is just another form of Āryadeva. Another fact, perhaps worth noting, is the testimony of the Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa inscriptions[1] to the constant intercourse between the Āndhra country and Ceylon in the second and third centuries A. D., and Ceylon is said to have been the original home of Āryadeva.

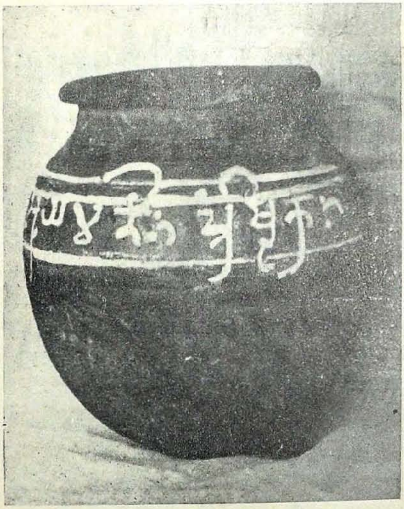
We should not omit to note some difficulties in the way of treating the pot as the reliquary of Āryadeva's remains. The name in our inscription is Āryamaṇi; the Buddhist divine is generally known as Āryadeva, and the Chinese sources call him Deva Pusa; this means really that the name by which the Chinese called him was Deva, because Pusa is a common term they applied to all patriarchs.[2] On the other hand all the terms *Ārya*, *Deva*, and *Maṇi* are honorifics, and it is possible that the same person might have been meant by different combinations of these terms. Another point is that the containers of relics are more often of stone, crystal or steatite, often a number of vases and caskets one within another, the whole being deposited safely beneath a stūpa. The use of earthenware pots is however, not altogether unknown; one earthen bowl and three inscribed jars containing relics have been reported from Bhojpur;[3] and inscribed bricks containing Buddhist sūttas have also been found.[4] Then the language of our inscription seems to be more Sanskritised than is usual in such inscriptions in the mixed dialect; the form *āya* for *ārya* is known in some other instances, like Āya Karkuhasta[5] and Āya Bhadukiya;[6] but *pruṣṭikā* is a good Sanskrit word as we have seen. With Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, however, begins the full tide of Mahāyāna, when Sanskrit came into use. Lastly, the inscriptions on the relic caskets more

1. *EI*. xx, p. 23.
2. Edkins - *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 77 ; Watters-*Yuan Chwang*.
3. Luders - List of Brāhmī inscriptions. 676-78 and 680.
4. JASB. 1896, p. 101 ; *EI* xxi, pp. 193 ff.
5. Luders 58.
6. *Ibid*. 367.

The Inscription.



The pot with the inscription chalked.

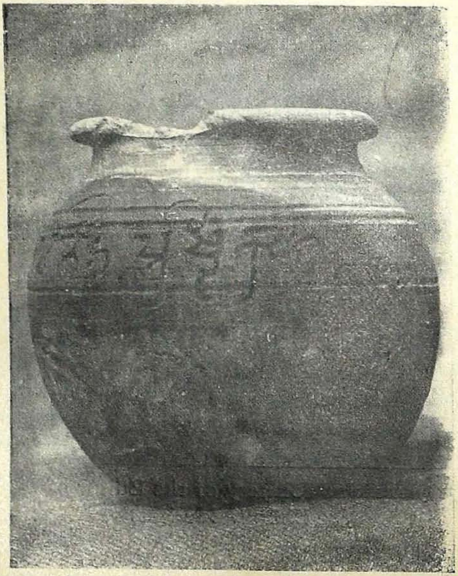


By the kind courtesy of the Editor of the Bhārati, Madras.

Two views of the inscribed pot.

I

II



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often give only the name in the genitive case of the person whose relics are preserved without employing any word signifying relics —as the word *pruṣṭikā* does in this case; but here again instances of the mention of relics are not unknown and the words *śarīra* and *dhātu* are found employed in some inscriptions from relic caskets.[1]

Āryadeva is well-known as the pupil of Nāgārjuna and the author of many works. He was a native, most probably of Ceylon,[2] but seems to have spent much of his life in the mainland of India. Yuan Chwang mentions his connection with several places in India, but there is nothing so far known, except Āryadeva being the disciple of Nāgārjuna, that brings him into any very close relation with the Āndhra country. In view of this and in view of the difficulties already noticed, it may be doubted if our pot can yet be accepted as the reliquary of Āryadeva's remains.[3] But the suggestion seemed worth making in view of the other evidence cited above. This evidence is late and inconclusive; it must be left to future research to confirm or disprove the suggestion put forward here tentatively.

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1. Swat Relic Vase Inscription, Jalalabad Vase Inscription and another inscription dated 146 A.D. on a box lid—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, ii p. 4, 52, and 152. *EI*. ii pp. 326, 328 (Bhaṭṭiprolu) ; ASSI. I. p. 86, No. 47 (Amarāvati). Of all these, only the inscription of 146 A. D. furnishes a close analogy to our record, being the interment of the relics of a Śramaṇa. The rest relate to the relics of the Buddha.

2. Or South India Watters, i, 321 ; Beal, v, 190, n. 76.

3. For Āryadeva see Watters - Yuan-Chwang index, s. v. Deva, and corresponding passages in Beal - Buddhist Records, in particular, i. 189, n, 76. A short metrical work on Mahāyāna ethics by Āryadeva was recovered and published by H. P. Sastri, in 1898-J.A.S.B. ii, pp. 175-84. Āryadeva's *Catuśśatikā* ed. also by H. P. Sāstri. Memoirs ASB. iii (8) pp. 449-514. Again by Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya, Part II only—Viśvabhārati Series No. 2 (1931). The *Śātaśāstra*, a short treatise of Āryadeva on logic, has been recovered and published by Tucci in his *Pre-Dignāga Buddhist Texts on Logic*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series Vol. 49. *See also* I.H.Q. 1933, pp. 978-9 for a discussion on Āryadeva's birthplace. Kuangpai-lun in Watters. xx, i, 362.

REALISM IN INDIAN ART

BY

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The cry of 'go back from nature' has now pervaded Indian atmosphere and created an Indian Art quite unconscious and ignorant of and hence totally dissociated from nature. The say that nature is no good and that the ideal artist should rise above her is a tacit though honourable way of admitting the inimitableness of God's creation. The human hand, however much aided by instruments, falls short of portraying the sublime spirit of God in nature. But that does not and should not in any way discourage an artist from depicting nature as true as his ability could allow him to do it. It is only the degree of perfection that makes the artist felt as great or small. Whatever people might feel regarding the opinions of Ruskin on art—and we are not concerned with the opinions—it cannot be gainsaid he was a remarkably great aesthete, and it is interesting to note how very plain he is on the point (Art). In his Pre-Raphaelitism he asks us to 'suppose that every tree of the forest had been drawn in its noblest aspect, every beast in the field in its savage life—that all these gatherings were already in our national galleries, and that the painters of the present day were labouring, happily and earnestly, to multiply them, and put such means of knowledge more and more within reach of the common people'—, and questions us whether 'that would not be a more honourable life for them, than gaining precarious bread by "bright effects".' He says that the painters do not think it to be so and adds that 'they think it easy, and therefore contemptible to be truthful.' Proceeding he deplores that 'the excuse is, however, one of lips only; for every painter knows that when he draws back from the attempt to render Nature as she is, it is oftener in cowardice than disdain.'

That this truth which Ruskin has been telling us is confined to England is as absurd a notion as that of Art belonging to any particular nation or country. As the instinct of man is artistic in some degree or other all the world over and as fine art was no monopoly of any country or clime, so also the supposition of

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Ruskin that 'the faculties which, when a man finds in himself, he resolves to be a painter, are intenseness of observation and facility of imagination; that man is created an observer and an imitator; and his function is to convey knowledge to his fellow-men, of such things as cannot be taught otherwise than ocularly' holds good as truly in other parts of the world as in England. But this supposition is merely an ideal which many artists of to-day glory more in violating than in following. Criticizing art instructions of his day Ruskin says 'we begin, in all probability, by telling the youth of fifteen or sixteen, that Nature is full of faults, and that he is to improve her; but that Raphael is perfection, and that the more he copies Raphael the better; that after much copying of Raphael, he is to try what he can do himself in a Raphaelesque, but yet original manner: that is to say, he is to try to do something very clever all out of his own head, but yet this clever something is to be properly subjected to Raphaelesque rules, is to have a principal light occupying one-seventh of its space, and a principal shadow occupying one-third of the same; that no two people's heads in the picture are to be turned the same way, and that all the personages represented are to possess ideal beauty of the highest order, which ideal beauty consists partly in a Greek outline of nose, partly in proportions expressible in decimal fractions between the lips and chin; but partly also in that degree of improvement which the youth of sixteen is to bestow upon God's work in general. This I say is the kind of teaching which through various channels, Royal academy lecturings, press criticisms, public enthusiasm, and not least by solid weight of gold, we give to our young men. And we wonder we have no painters.'

The criticism of Ruskin is as true of Indian Art to-day as it was in England in his time. The notion that Indian Art means depicting of men and women with fractured bones and contorted bodies emaciated by perhaps an anaemia of long duration, of trees with their branches bereft of leaves or if depicted with leaves at all, with only so many as could be easily counted (which simplified method is perhaps one way of rising above nature and God), of animals in all fantastic forms imaginable, the merit of the artist lying in his ignorance or inability to depict the real form of the object, has so completely taken possession of our modern artists' brains that no magician or conjurer can rid them of it with his most herculean of efforts, much less ordinary souls like us.

Now, to go to the real state of affairs in the realm of art in India, we have but to visit the various famous places of our land that contain art-treasures of our past, and a sight of these would very well suffice to dispel the illusion that has taken so deep a root in the minds of people. During my recent visit to Mahābalipuram—the seaport of the Pallava monarchs of Kāñcī renowned for its 'Seven Pagodas'—I made a few sketches being struck by the very natural and realistic treatment of life, all on stone. The sage just near the small shrine carved in the famous 'Arjuna's Penance' is one that not merely attracts attention but arrests it. The sculptor who carved so exquisite a figure in the round and who shows such a high mastery of human form can have nothing in common with that class of our modern artists who take a delight in flouting all notions of elementary fundamentals of artistic thought, convention and anatomy in their frenzy to rise above, and better, nature. It would be a good beginning to study the picture (fig. 1) in detail. The rather emaciated body

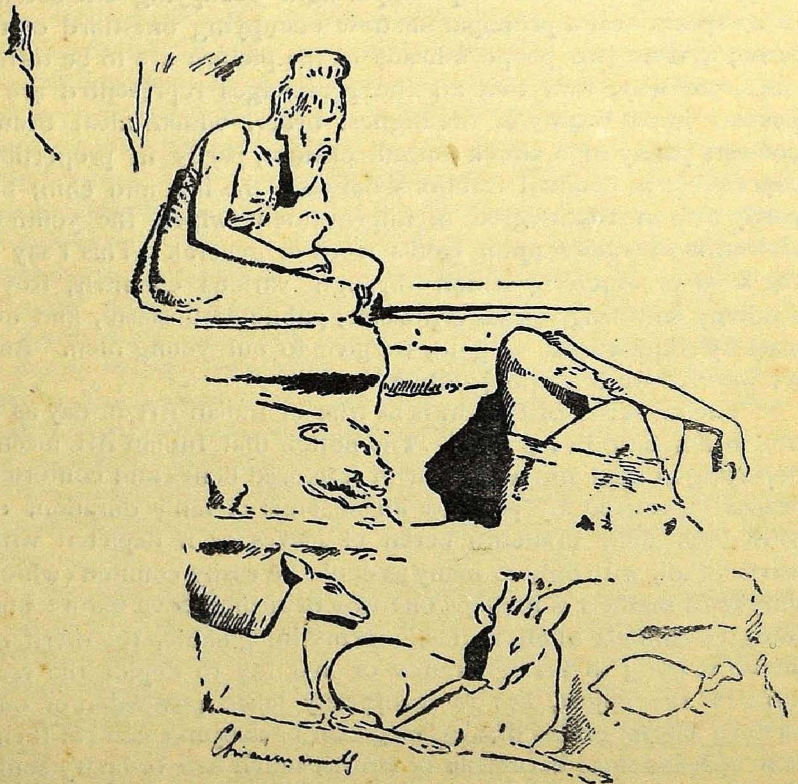

Fig. 1.

of the sage exhibits the ribs partly.[1] The bend of the body is graceful and the anatomical structure of the body is exquisite. Similarly with regard to the carving of the pair of deer beneath the sage. The attitude of one of the deer reminds us of the line of Kālidāsa wherein the animal is described as in the act of scratching the body. Unfortunately the head of the sage lower down is missing but the sitting posture that is just the one of Yogadakṣiṇāmūrti is striking. It is all natural and spontaneous work—nothing of the fantastic and ludicrous about it. In the carving of the desciple carrying water for the daily ablutions of the sage (fig. 2) we find a similar meticulous observance of nature's law in anatomy, pose etc. We have next the beautiful carving of the monkey group (fig. 3) where one of these mischievous creatures is engaged in removing dandruff from the head of another sitting with a young one in its lap. Nothing can be more natural than this wonder piece of stone work that seems to breathe and move. Of the beauty of the elephants in the great group of 'Arjuna's Penance' little need be said since even a word spoken on the point would be a repetition perhaps for the hundredth time. The tortoise of the same group appears to crawl about, so realistic is it. Plastic art has nothing better to give than the exquisitely natural elephants in the Gajalakṣmī group

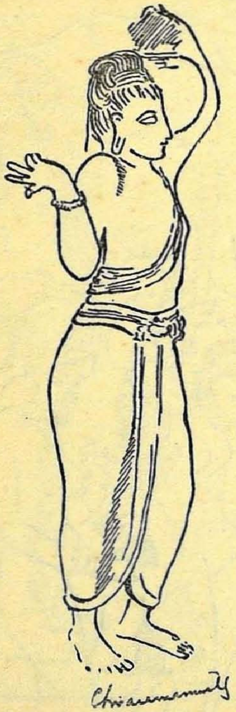

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

1. This marvellous piece of work reminded me at once of the special dictums of the Viṣṇudharmottara for the proper representation of various objects. The emaciated body of the sage in stone brought home to my mind the force of the verse

(fig. 4) in the Varāha cave. The treatment of the boar's head

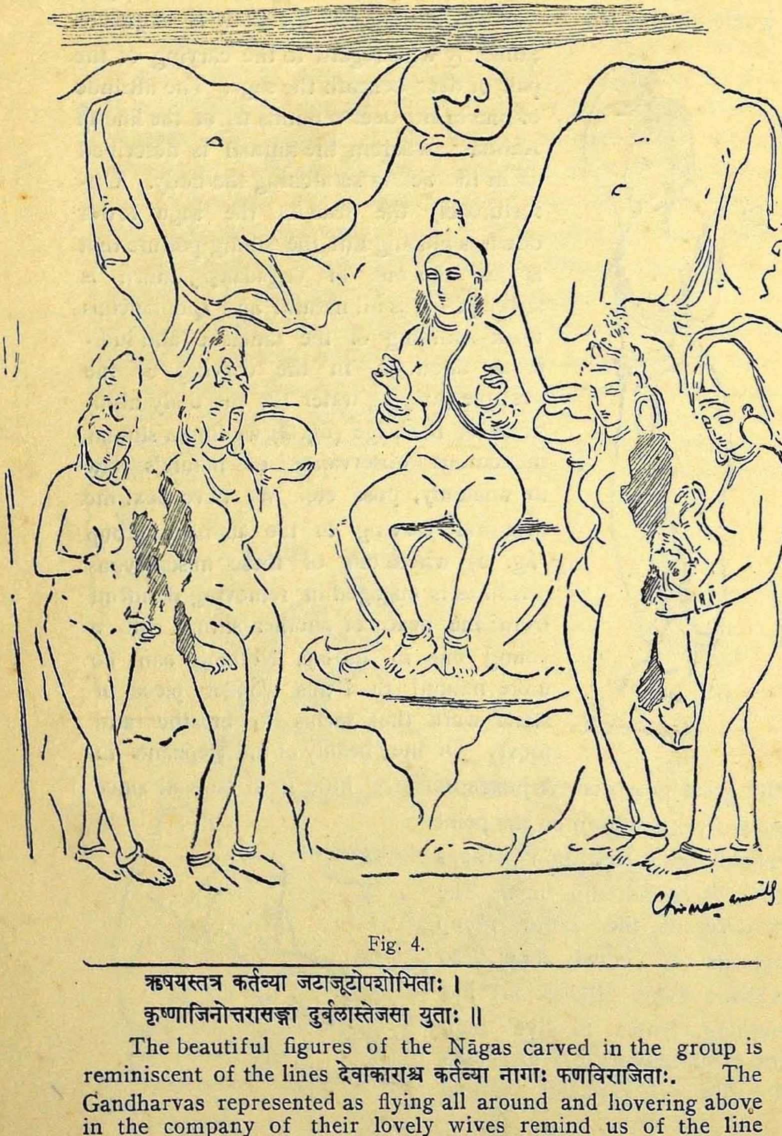

Fig. 4.

ऋषयस्तत्र कर्तव्या जटाजूटोपशोभिताः ।
कृष्णाजिनोत्तरासङ्गा दुर्बलास्तेजसा युताः ॥

The beautiful figures of the Nāgas carved in the group is reminiscent of the lines देवाकाराश्च कर्तव्या नागाः फणविराजिताः. The Gandharvas represented as flying all around and hovering above in the company of their lovely wives remind us of the line सपत्नीकाश्च ते कार्या माल्यालङ्कारधारिणः. Similarly the beauty of the female companions of these demigods carved in stone is a commentary on the verse

दैत्यदानवयक्षाणां राक्षसानां तथैव च ।
रूपवत्यस्तथा कार्या पत्न्यो मनुजसत्तम ॥

in the Varāhamūrti panel (fig. 5) is equally praiseworthy.

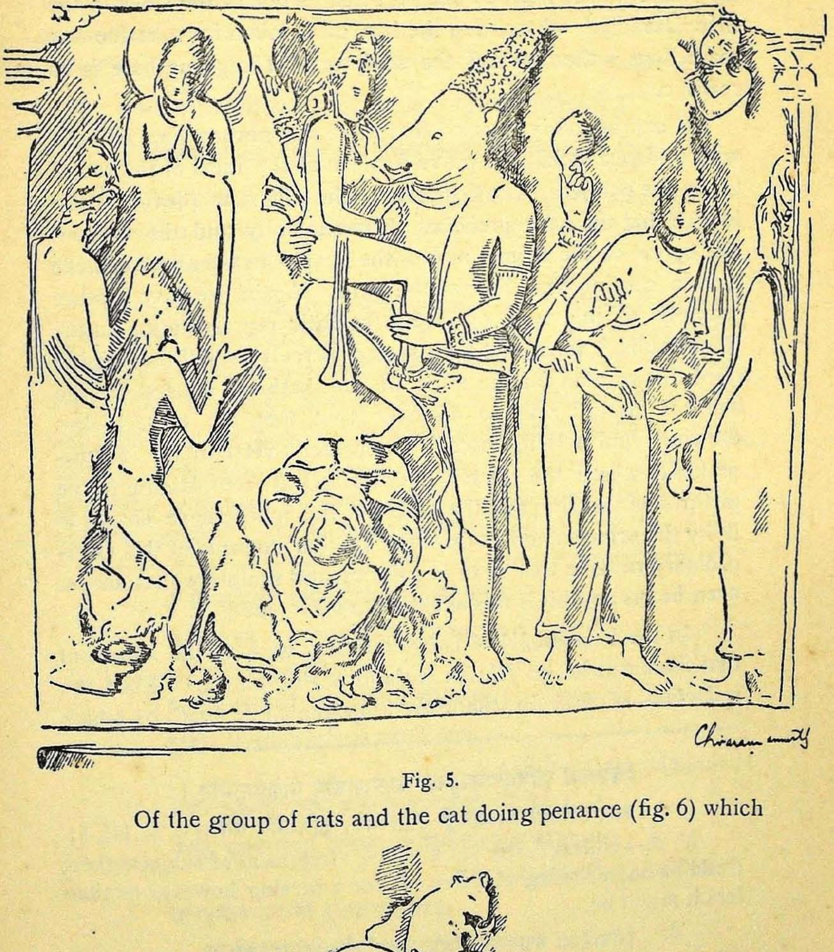

Fig. 5.

Of the group of rats and the cat doing penance (fig. 6) which

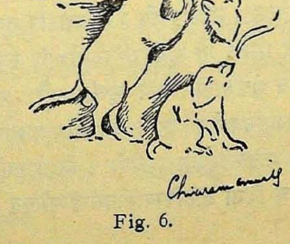

Fig. 6.

latter Mrs. Fyson identifies as Dadhikarṇa, (it is not included in my sketch), little need be said; it reminds one of the śloka in the Śiśupālavadha[1] where even the live cat is taken for a statue—so marvellous is the work of the sculptors. The group here is as realistic.

It can be safely asserted that there was never a time in India with evidence lacking to prove Realism as the ideal of the sculptor or the painter. The figurines of the pārāvatas (doves) are so lifelike that the cat approaches them stealthily and the motionless figure of the animal makes the people in the street mistake it for a carving like those of the birds. Again we have another example of this type of highly realistic representation in the Raghuvaṁśa[2] where the lions spring fiercely to kill the mighty elephants painted on the walls of the bathing houses on the banks of Sarayū only to discover that they are mere lifeless drawings and nothing more. The pathetic verse in the Kāvyaprakāśa[3] where the parrot is described as complaining to the pictures of the king and the others of the indifference shown to it by the princess and so on is but another example of this extraordinary realistic treatment in painting and sculpture that makes even beasts and birds mistake them for live ones.

In the Kundamālā of Diṅgnāgācārya we have the statement that there can be no Bimba without a Pratibimba.[4] Even the reflection of Sītā in the water is spoken of as Pratikṛti which

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1. चिक्रंसया कृत्रिमपत्रिपङ्क्तेः कपोतपालीषु निकेतनानाम् ।
मार्जारमप्यायतनिश्चलाङ्गं यस्यां जनः कृत्रिममेव मेने ॥ Ś. V. III, 51.

N. B.—Unless there was a realistic treatment of subjects there could be no mistaking of a live cat for a carving however motionless it might be.

2. चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालभङ्गाः ।
नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरब्धसिंहप्रहृतं वहन्ति ॥
Raghu. XVI. 16.

3. राजन् राजसुता न पाठयति मां देव्योऽपि तूष्णीं स्थिताः
कुब्जे भोजय मां कुमारसचिवैर्नाद्यापि संभुज्यते ।
इत्थं नाथ शुकस्तवारिभवने मुक्तोऽध्वगैः पञ्जरा-
चित्रस्थानवलोक्य शून्यवलभावेकैकमाभाषते ॥ K. P. X. Ullāsa.

4. तदस्याः प्रतिकृतेर्मूलमन्वेषयामि । निःसंपातविविक्तमिदं दीर्घिकातीरम्, बिम्बेन च विना प्रतिबिम्बमित्यसंभाव्यमेतत् । Act IV.

term is strictly applied to a picture; but the reason is not far to seek. Every picture and especially a Viddha Citra (*i. e.*, a portrait) should be like the reflection in a mirror as the Sthavirāvalīcarita puts it.[1] The śloka of the Navasāhasāṅkacarita

नृपस्य चित्रे मधुरेयमाकृतिर्न भिद्यते चन्द्रमसो यथाम्भसि ।
सखीजनस्तामिति नर्मपेशलः शनैरुपानम्रमुखीमभाषत ॥ VII

which talks of the picture resembling the original exactly like the reflection of the moon in the water the original in the sky gives out percisely the same idea.

It is evident from the Raghuvaṁśa,[2] the Tilakamañjarī[3] and other works in Sanskrit that it was customary in ancient India for the pictures of princes and princesses to be sent all round the land to the courts of various kings, for fixing up marriages according to the dictum of 'परस्परस्य स्पृहणीयशोभं द्वन्द्वम्'. This method of choosing a princess by seeing her picture would be an impossibility if there were no resemblance between the drawing and the original. We have subtle differentiation in the Śilpa

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1. ते विश्वकर्मणो मूर्त्यन्तराणीवातिकौशलात् ।
तमालिखन् यथावस्थमादर्शप्रतिबिम्बवत् ॥ I. 134.

Compare the Śilpa text

साद्दश्यं लिख्यते यत्तु दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बवत् ।
तच्चित्रं विद्धमित्याहुर्विश्वकर्मादयो बुधाः ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

cf. धवलाभ्रकच्छुरितभित्तिलिखितललिताङ्गनालिपिम ।
अप्सु कुवलयदृशां प्रतिमाः सितदर्पणनिभासु लेभिरे ॥

Navasāhasāṅkacarita, XV. 7

2. प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यो दूतिसंदर्शिताभ्यः
समधिकतररूपाः शुद्धसन्तानकामैः ।
अधिविविदुरमात्यैराहृतास्तस्य यूनः
प्रथमपरिगृहीते श्रीभुवौ राजकन्याः ॥ XVIII. 53.

3. कदाचिदङ्गनालोल इति निपुणचित्रकरैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपायनीकृतानि रूपातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिबिम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मा दिवसमालोकयत् । T. M. p. 15.

अतोऽस्याः सकलनिजपरिवारवाराङ्गनाचित्रकौशलदर्शनव्याजेन दर्शय निसर्गसुन्दराकृतीनामवनिगोचरनरेन्द्रदारकाणां यथास्वमङ्कितानि नामभिर्यथावस्थितानि विद्धरूपाणि । T. M. p. 138.

texts between Viddha and Aviddha pictures.[1] The former represent that class of pictures that exactly resemble the originals being portraits of a high order while the latter represent a class of imaginary drawings not strictly realistic. This latter group of pictures merely give an idea of the thing represented and nothing more. If realistic painting cannot be conceded as having been in existence in old India passages like the one in the Tilaka-

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द्वीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपहार्यमाणचित्रफलकारोपितविद्धरूपः ।

T. M. p. 133.

तत्र च त्वदुपलम्भाशया दिङ्मुखख्यातरूपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विद्धरूपाण्यादरप्रवर्तितैश्चित्रकृद्भिरभिलिख्योपनीतान्यजस्रमवलोकयतः...............मे गताः कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः । T. M. p. 263.

cf. किं चैतत् प्रतिरूपदर्शनवशादस्मानिमां कर्हिचित्
याचेतैष विशेषतस्तदुचितं पुत्रीपितॄणां तु नः ।
इत्यालोच्य तया समं दयितया धर्मेण धीमन्नहं
त्वत्पार्श्वे प्रहितास्मि तत्प्रतिकृतिं चैतां भवानीक्षताम् ।।

Vasantavilāsamahākāvya, p. 75.

cf. भर्तुः प्रतीहारनिवेदितस्ततः प्रविश्य संसद्गृहमाहितानतिः ।
भ्रूभेददत्तावसरः स कर्णयोः क्षरत्सुधासारमुवाच वाचिकम् ।।
किं चाग्रतस्तेन निरीक्ष्य भूपतेः कुमारमाकारविनिर्जितस्मरम् ।
तद्रूपशोभासुभगोऽस्य दर्शितां जगन्मनोलुण्ठनलम्पटः पटः ।।
पीयूषधारागृहमत्र नेत्रयोर्निरीक्ष्य कन्याप्रतिबिम्बमद्भुतम् ।
किं तथ्यमित्थं भवितेति चिन्तयन् पुरो नृपः श्लोकमिमं व्यलोकयत् ।।
अस्याः स्वरूपं कथमेणचक्षुषां यथावदन्यो लिखितुं प्रगल्भताम् ।
धातापि यस्याः प्रतिरूपनिर्मितौ घुणाक्षरन्यायकृताकृतिर्जडः ।।

Dharmaśarmābhyudaya, IX, 32-35.

A messenger is sent with a portrait of the Vidarbha princess to every court including the court of Kosala.

cf. रूपादिभिर्गुणगणैरनुरूपमस्यास्ताताश्चिराय विमृशन् वरमात्मजायाः ।
आलेख्यकर्मकुशलैः फलकेषु कृत्स्नानालेखयत् क्षितिभुजः प्रथितान्ववायान् ।।
कौतूहलेन फलकेषु मयाहृतेषु क्षोणीभृतो विलिखितान्निपुणं निरूप्य ।
आसीदियं त्रिजगतामभिनन्दनीये कुत्रापि यूनि विनिवेशितचित्तवृत्तिः ।।

Sahṛdayānanda, III, 17-18.

1. सादृश्यं लिख्यते यत्तु दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बवत् ।
तच्चित्रं विद्धमित्याहुर्विश्वकर्मादयो बुधाः ।।

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

mañjarī[1] where an exact drawing of the portrait from memory is attempted can have no meaning. At any rate sketching from life would be absurd if there is no real portrayal of the features in a realistic way. In this connection I am reminded of the two pictures of Nārāyaṇa[2] in the Sarasvatīmahāl library in Tanjore that were so exactly similar. The painter who could show such a striking similarity between the two pictures could and ought to have brought out the likeness of the original in flesh and blood whom he painted originally in both his pictures.

We need not go very far to see the truth of the above statement. We have it in the Vasantavilāsamahākāvya[3] that the minister weeps at the sight of the statue of his mother. So realistic is it that it moves him to tears. As against all this we have bad pictures with their blemishes hidden by paint described in the Pādatāḍitaka.[4] Sītā is carried away into the forest as it were and forgets herself when seeing the pictures illustrating Rāma's life on the walls of the royal palace at Ayodhyā and takes them all to be realistic and Rāma has to remind her of the fact she is looking at pictures;[5] and this talks eloquently of the very

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1. कदाचिदन्तिकन्यस्तविविधवर्तिकासमुद्गका प्रगुणीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः पुरोऽवस्थापिते पृथुनि चित्रफलके निपुणमालोच्यालोच्य मकरकेतुबाणव्रातविद्धा देवस्यैव रूपविद्धमभिलिखन्ती । p. 319.

2. Nārāyaṇa who belongs to the 18th century is the author of Śabdabhūṣaṇa and Śabdamañjarī and two portraits of his in miniature are painted on the first pages of the MSS of the two works preserved in the Tanjore library. They possess a remarkable and striking resemblance.

3. तदा सूत्रधारेणैकेन दारवी कुमारदेव्या मातुर्मूर्तिर्महन्तकाय नवीनघटिता दृष्टौ कृता । उक्तं च तेन मातुर्मूर्तिरियम् । तदा मन्त्रीश्वरेण आशिखनखं दृष्ट्वा मूर्ती रुदितं च । प्रथममश्रुमात्रम्, ततोऽव्यक्ततरो ध्वनिः, ततो व्यक्ततरः । सर्वे तटस्थाः पृच्छन्ति । देव ! किं कारणं रुद्यते ? हर्षस्थाने को विषादः ?......ततो मन्त्रिणोक्तम् दुःखमिदं यन्मे भाग्यसङ्घाधिपत्यादिविभूतिर्मातृमरणानन्तरं संपन्ना । etc. p. 97.

The statue is a carving in wood.

4. वर्णानुरूपोज्ज्वलचारुवेषां लक्ष्मीमिवालेख्यपटे निविष्टाम् ।
सापह्नवां कामिषु कामवन्तोऽरूपां विरूपामपि कामयन्ते ॥ p. 31.

5. लक्ष्मणः—एष पञ्चवट्यां शूर्पणखाविवादः ।

natural treatment in the paintings that serve as a contrast to the ugly pictures loaded with paint to please the crude taste of the lay public that is easily carried away by colour—वर्णाढ्यमितरे जनाः.

The extraordinary skill required of an artist to execute pictures in such a clever way is very well given out in the passage in the Avantisundarīkathā of Daṇḍin[1]—it is a pity that it happens to be motheaten and worn out to the utmost limit and therefore fragmentary in its printed form—wherein the sculptor replaces the broken hand of Śeṣaśāyiviṣṇu in Mahābalipuram so dexterously that nothing of it could be seen as having been repaired. That great feat of an artist—painting one's self—in which many an artist of the west has delighted, and of which we have examples like the paintings of Rembrandt, of Wilson, of Sir Joshua and a host of others, all by themselves, appears to have been a favourite pastime with the painter even in India as we see in the Padyacūḍāmaṇi[2] and elsewhere. In the Avadānakalpalatā

सीता—हा ! आर्यपुत्र ! एतावत्ते दर्शनम् ।
रामः—अयि ! वियोगत्रस्ते ! चित्रमेतत् ।
सीता—यथा तथा भवतु । दुर्जनोऽसुखमुत्पादयति ।
रामः—हन्त ! वर्तमान इव मे जनस्थानवृत्तान्तः प्रतिभाति ।

Uttararāmacarita, Act I.

In the last line Rāma also feels the realism of the pictures.

1. ......या विस्मापितदुर्जयस्य मान्धातृनाम्नः स्थपतेः प्रशस्तवास्तुशास्त्रार्थसारसा.......स्तुविस्तारषण्णवतिप्रासादविधिविशारदो यानासनशयनादिना......तीयप्रयोक्ता षट्त्रिंशदाचार्यगुणैरलंकृतो ललितालयनामा स...विरचित...रार्द्रदृष्टिनिर्दिष्टायां भूमावुपाविशत् । दृष्टेऽपि तस्मिन् विस्मय...मेष किल यन्त्रमयमिन्द्रजालिकं कृतवानेव किल सं...पित्रा यवनानप्यतिशयानेन क्षुधितोऽयमिति यन्त्रो..........मवसिता एव सर्वे नित्यप्रमादशैथिल्यां शिल्प...दिवैतास्मिन्नैपुणमपि तदनुग्रहार्थमेव...(शार्ङ्ग)धन्वनः केनापि कारणेन मणिबन्धं भग्नो...अनुरूप....वेति द्रष्टुमर्हथ

etc. p. 8.

2. आलेख्यलीलाफलकं सतूलिमेकं दधाना करपल्लवेन ।
आत्मानमालिख्य वराय तस्मै दातुं समुद्योगवतीव तस्थौ ॥ IV. 72.

cf. पुनरहमभिलिख्यात्मनः प्रतिकृतिम् "इयममुष्यै नेया । नीतां चैनां निर्वर्ण्य सा नियतमेवं वक्ष्यति—'नन्वस्ति कश्चिदीदृशाकारः पुमान् ?' इति । प्रतिब्रूह्येनाम्—'यदि स्यात्ततः किम् ?' इति । तस्य यदुत्तरं सा दास्यति तदहमस्मि प्रतिबोधनीयः" इति ।

Daśakumāracarita, p. 107, N. S. edn.

of Kṣemendra even Buddha is reported to have done his own portrait.[1]

A painting like the one described in the śloka of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī

इत्युक्ता तैर्लिलेखाथ तापसी भूमिपात्मजम् ।
अविसंवादिलावण्यं संक्रान्तमिव दर्पणे ॥
ते दृष्ट्वा लिखितं चित्रे तुल्यं राजसुतं तथा ।
साधु साध्वित्यभाषन्त प्रहर्षोत्फुल्ललोचनाः ॥ IX. 1305-1306.

cannot but go recognised;[2] and we have instances of people recognising portraits by a mere look as in the Ratnāvalī[3], the Śṛṅgāra-

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1. ततश्चित्रकराशक्यां प्रभावैरनुपूरिताम् ।
भगवान् प्राहिणोत् तस्यै न्यस्तां स्वप्रतिमां पटे ॥
A. K. L., Vol. I, Pallava VII. 62.

2. Recognition of the original by a look at the figure is found in the verse—

तेनापृष्टः स वेतालः केयमित्यतिकौतुकात् ।
उवाच शिल्पिना देव कृतेयं शालभञ्जिका ॥
कलिङ्गराजतनयामालोक्य सदृशाकृतिम् ।
सेयं कलिङ्गसेनाख्या रूपकारेण निर्मिता ॥
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, X. 202-3.

3. **सुसंगता**—इदं खलु कदलीगृहम् । तद्यावत्प्रविशामि । (प्रविश्यावलोक्य च सविस्मयम्) एषा मे प्रियसखी सागरिका । किं पुनरेषा गुर्वनुरागोत्क्षिप्तहृदयेव किमप्यालिखन्ती न मां प्रेक्षते । भवतु । तद्यावदस्या दृष्टिपथं परिहृत्य निरूपयामि । (स्वैरं पृष्ठतोऽस्याः स्थित्वा दृष्ट्वा सहर्षम्) कथं भर्ताभिलिखितः ! साधु ! सागरिके ! साधु ! अथवा, न कमलाकरं वर्जयित्वा राजहंस्यन्यस्मिन्नभिरमते । Act II.

Cf. Later Sāgarikā recognises her own portrait drawn by Susaṅgatā on the same picture board.

सागरिका—(विलोक्य सक्रोधम्) सखि ! कथं त्वयाहमत्रालिखिता ।

Cf. Later even the fool of a Vidūṣaka recognises the picture as that of his friend the King.

विदूषकः—भो ! वयस्य ! दिष्ट्या वर्धसे । एतत्तद्यन्मया भणितम् । त्वमेवात्रालिखितः । अन्यथा कोऽन्यः कुसुमचापव्यपदेशेन निह्नूयत इति ।

tilaka[1] and the Viddhaśālabhañjikā.[2] The pictures should have been very striking for the fool of a Vidūṣaka in the Viddha-

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1. मया कोऽयं मुग्धे कथय लिखितः सत्वरसखी-
वचः श्रुत्वेत्युच्चैर्विनिहितदृशा चित्रफलके ।
न वक्तुं तन्वङ्ग्या शकितमथ चोद्दामविदल-
त्कदम्बाकारेण प्रिय इति समाख्यायि वपुषा ॥ p. 142.

2. विदूषकः—इतस्तावल्ललितस्फटिकगर्भभवनभित्तिचित्रसंस्थेषु कर्मसु निवेशयतां दृष्टिः । एष तावद्देवो देव्या समं पाशकाभिनिवेशी आलिखितः । एषापि ताम्बूलकरण्डवाहिनी नागवल्ली । एषा चामरग्राहिणी प्रभाञ्जनिका । एष रत्नकरण्डको नाम वामनकः । एष पुनर्मन्दुरामर्कटः टप्परकर्णो नाम ।

राजा—त्वमेषोऽभिलिखितः ।

विदूषकः—(सक्रोधम्) नाहं लिखितुं ज्ञातो ब्राह्मणी जानाति यादृशोऽहं सा मां भणति त्वं प्रत्यक्षो देव इति ।

राजा—किमुपवने शुको वदति ।

विदूषकः—किमिव ।

राजा—अस्ति भवान् देवः किं पुनर्भृङ्गिरिटिः ।

विदूषकः—को दुर्जनवचनानां कर्णं ददाति (अङ्गुल्या निर्दिशन्) एषा पुनः शोभासमुदयेनोपहसन्तीव काप्यपूर्वा आलिखिता ।

राजा—इयमपूर्वैवास्माकं न पुनरनङ्गस्य । (सम्यग्विलोक्य) सैवेयमस्मन्मनःसागरशशिलेखा । अहो रूपसंपदस्याः !

चक्षुर्मेचकमम्बुजं विजयते वक्त्रस्य मित्रं शशी
भ्रूसूत्रस्य सनाभि मन्मथधनुर्लावण्यपण्यं वपुः ।
लेखा कापि रदच्छदे च सुतनोर्गात्रे च तत्कामिनी-
मेनां वर्णयिता स्मरो यदि भवेद्वैदग्ध्यमभ्यस्यति ॥

विदूषकः—(स्वगतम्) का पुनरेषा देवीपरिवारे । (विचिन्त्य) भवतु, कौतूहलेन देवी अभिनवागतं निजमातुलजातकं मृगाङ्कवर्माणं वारं वारं विरचितमहिलावेषं कारयति । तां च दृष्ट्वा अज्ञातपरमार्थैश्चित्रकरैः सैव चित्रे आलिखितेति तर्कयामि तन्न विस्फोटयिष्ये । विस्मयतु तावत् प्रियवयस्यः । (प्रकाशम्) वर्धापयिष्ये भो कुमारिका खलु एषा एतस्या नेपथ्यं लक्ष्यते ।

राजा—यथाह प्रियवयस्यः ।

* * * * * *

विदूषकः—इतोऽपि देवी मदनवती अशेषपरिवारा चालिखिता ।

राजा—इदमेव रूपरत्नं सम्भावयामस्तावत् ।

śālabhañjikā to recognise so easily all of them painted in the palace.

The Mṛcchakaṭika says that imitation is the general rule with craftsmen;[1] but it can be safely said, judging from the frescoes and sculptures of the best period of Indian art that we have all over India, that mere imitation of another's work was not attempted by good workmen, though the less skilful ones might have resorted to such means. The land where अचुम्बितार्थप्रतिपत्ति is an ideal can never have an exceptional dictum in the realm of painting. If there was imitation in the case of skilled workmen it was an imitation of nature which well accounts for the passages that talk of light and shade[2] and the like—matters of technique all evolved and got at in attempts at trying to represent nature as faithfully as possible. So our painters of old could not have been grand-children[3] of nature but her sturdy children; and to justify our conviction we have the exquisite carving at Mahābalipuram of a highly fascinating and charmingly realistic milking group whose very striking natural beauty and skill in execution compelled me to take a note of it on my

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विदूषकः—इहापि सास्त्येव ।
राजा—(आत्मगतम्) एकं चक्षुरनेकत्र सा (विदूषकं प्रति) क्वासौ ?
विदूषकः—इयमियम् ।
विदूषकः—(स्तम्भे शालभञ्जिकां विलोक्य) इयमपि सैव ।

Viddhaśālabhañjikā, Act I.

1. दृष्ट्वा क्रियामनुकरोति हि शिल्पवर्गः
साद्दश्यमेव कृतहस्ततया वदन्ति ॥ Act X. 34.

2. राजनीतिरिव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया दिनकरप्रभेव प्रकाशितव्यक्तनिम्नोन्नतविभागा.........चक्रवर्तिकन्यका । Tilakamañjarī, p. 135.

The use of the words *dinakaraprabheva* and *vyakta* is significant. It is not abstract light but real sunlight giving sharp relief to the features and forming cast shadows that is referred to.

3. Archdeacon Fisher, in one of his letters that has not been printed, says, "I have just met with the following observation in Leonardo da Vinci, 'One painter ought never to imitate the manner of any other, because in that case he cannot be the child of nature, but the grand-child.' "—Constable sometimes called imitators "Poachers on other men's grounds." Life of Constable, p. 286.

picture-pad. This representation (fig. 7) which reminds me of

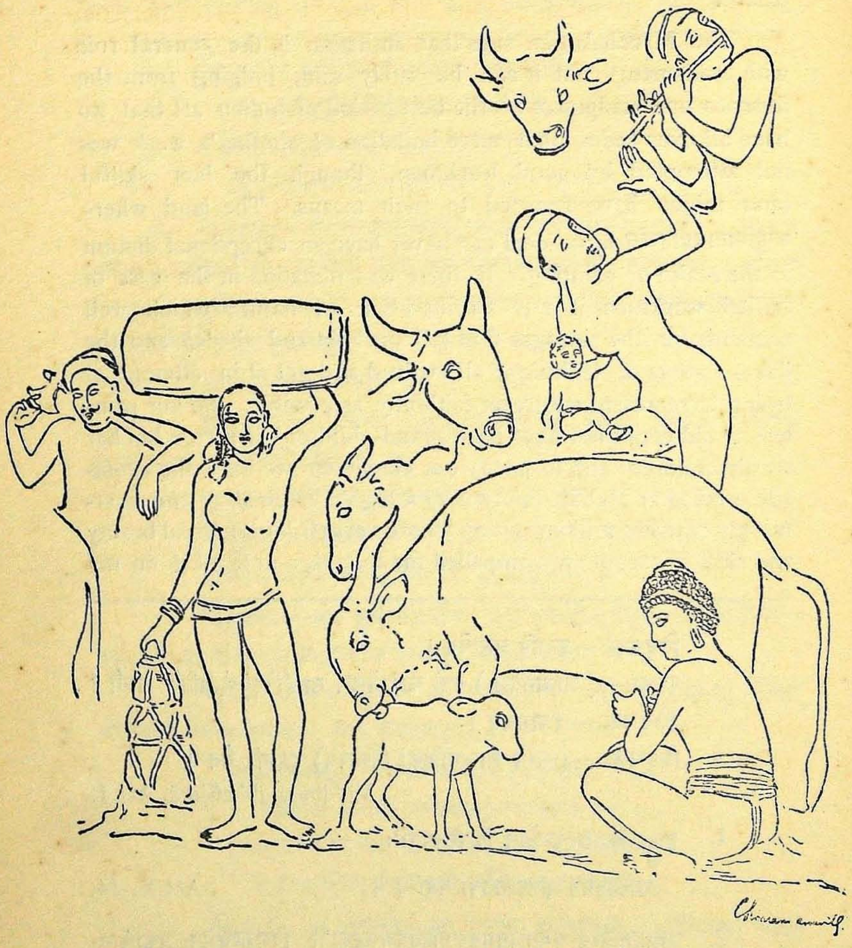

Fig. 7.

the powerful word-picture of Mayūra of the calf at milktime in the verse

> आहत्याहत्य मूर्ध्ना द्रुतमनुपिबतः प्रस्नुतं मातुरूधः
> किंचित् कुब्जैकजानोरनवरतचलच्चारुपुच्छस्य धेनुः ।
> उत्तीर्णं तर्णकस्य प्रियतनयतया दत्तहुंकारमुद्रा
> विस्रंसिक्षीरधारालवशबलमुखस्याङ्गमातृप्ति लेढि [1]॥

1. The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra, edited by G. P. Quackenbos, Indo-Iranian series. p. 235.

is really worthy of the most realistic school of painters and sculptors. The carving of the old cowherd (fig. 8) in the company of what appears like his daughter and grand-children, is again a fascinating study. Any master may be proud of the baby boy on the shoulder of the old man, snugly seated and dreaming sweet childish dreams of innocence.

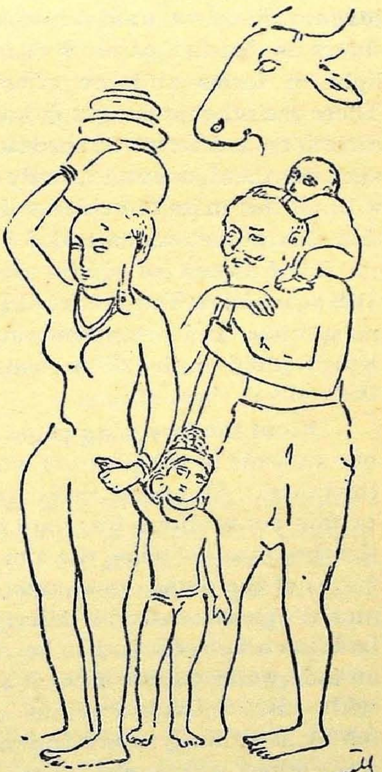

Fig. 8.

Light and shade or rather chiaroscuro as it is technically called in the artists' world is a factor to which considerable attention has been paid by our ancients. This is an outcome of the desire to faithfully represent the volume or the third dimension on a plane surface like the board or the canvas. This was done either with a single colour, *i.e.*, monochrome or with different colours as we have it given in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.[1] The oldest authority on this point is the Mahābhārata where the possibility of highly realistic representation by means of light and shade in pictures is referred to in the verse quoted by Kṣmendra in his Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa to show Vyāsa's knowledge of various arts including painting.

प्रकीर्णे चित्रपरिचयो यथा भगवतो व्यासस्य—

'अतथ्यान्यपि तथ्यानि दर्शयन्ति विचक्षणाः ।
समे निम्नोन्नतानीव चित्रकर्मविदो जनाः ॥'

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1. पूरयेद्वर्णतः पश्चात्तत्तद्रूपोचितं यथा ।
उज्ज्वलं प्रोन्नते स्थाने श्यामलं निम्नदेशतः ।
एकवर्णेऽपि तं कुर्यात्तारतम्यविशेषतः ॥ A. A. C. and Ś. T. R.

Following it Hemacandra repeats the quotation in his Kāvyānuśāsana. Dhanapāla has a passage in the Tilakamañjarī[1] where he talks of light and shade in colours bringing out the effect of relievo. The use of the word *Dinakaraprabheva prakāśitavyaktanimnonnatavibhāgā* is significant especially when it shows us that the painters of old India had observed the play of light on forms and the effect of light and shadows thereby. There are other passages from Sanskrit literature talking of the directions and forms of shadows, etc. that bear testimony to the very keen and accurate study of nature in ancient India; and with all this mass of evidence for it it cannot be so easily said that chiaroscuro was a sealed book to our forefathers. A look at the frescoes of India from any quarter, Ajaṇṭa, Bagh, Śittanṉavaśal or Tanjore would reveal how well the principles of perspective and foreshortening were mastered. The talk of Kṣayavṛddhi in the Śilpa texts is actually shown in practice on the walls in these places.

From the foregoing pages it is evident what was the ideal of our ancients in the pictorial world. Their attempt was at realistic treatment. Of course there are conventions in all spheres and certain conventions there are in painting too. Representation of the three worlds being the aim of the artists of our land, and the forms of the divine ones, etc. being beyond the reach of our mortal eye, canons and descriptions regarding their form, etc. laid down by seers had to be strictly followed. The mockery of an independent spirit in such a holy sphere as this was dispensed with. But individual genius could make the picture or image felt by its striking nature and individuality in no way opposing the conventions within whose limits it had been worked. But in representing the world around them the artists were absolutely free and their treatment was quite realistic. The drawings of elephants, ducks etc. are examples.

In conclusion it is only to be regretted that modern art in India should so recklessly present all sorts of anaemic and asthmatic patients if not consumptive ones, not in poses like ābhaṅga or atibhaṅga, tribhaṅga, etc. but aṣṭāvakrabhaṅgas—all in the complacent belief that this is equal to or directly connected with the noble pictures of the past. In this case nothing better can be done than drawing the attention of the producers of this sort of modern art to the few lines of criticism of an eminent artist of

1. Tilakamañjarī, p. 135.

the west levelled against some of his contemporaries losing themselves in illusory joys of having approached the old masters through rotten productions of theirs in a wretched imitative style. "Those who are old enough to compare the present state of painting, among us, with what it was before the continent was thrown open to our artists, cannot but have misgivings as to the advantage of foreign travel to British students. If, as it may be feared, we are more and more losing sight of nature, it may be less owing to the influence of the National Gallery, than to the example from abroad of, I will not call it imitation but *mimicry* of early art. This is so easy a thing to succeed in, and is so well calculated to impose on ourselves and others a belief that we possess the spirit of the primitive ages of art, that we cannot too carefully guard against its seduction. The purity of heart belonging to childhood is, no doubt, as desirable to the painter as to the Christian, but we do not acquire this by merely imitating the *lisp* of infancy."[1]

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1. Life of Constable, p. 84.

Note:—This note is added by me to remove certain misapprehensions that might arise regarding realism in Indian Art. Realism does not mean photographic fidelity. Similarly idealism cannot be a monstrous torture of realism. Idealism is realism perfect and graceful. A study of Pallava, Cola, Hoysala and other phases of art would instil in one a reverence for such an idealistic realism. The bronzes of South India of the best period are perfectly idealistic with no outrage on realism. Indian figures are gracefully rounded in shape, nerves, projecting bones and muscles being avoided in representation according to certain Indian conventions laid down in Śilpa texts. And that creates a gulf of difference between Indian and Western (Greek, etc.) art besides other differences too numerous for mention in this short note.

The best specimens of Indian art are not opposed to this sort of idealistic realism. Orissan ivories represented by such excellent specimens as 'Tortoise' and 'Krishna' (Plate LXXIII Fig. A and B. History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon by V. A. Smith) which are described by Sir George Watt as 'a wonderfnl creation' and 'an exquisite piece of work' respectively, the work of the Śilpins, temple architects and carvers of temple cars of South India, and some of the exquisite paintings of modern masters like Dr. A. N. Tagore and Nandalal Bose may be said to represent modern Indian art continuing the traditions of the past. "The Cloud Messenger' and 'Tear-drop on the lotus leaf' of Dr. A. N. Tagore, the

'Svayaṁvara of Damayantī', 'Gāndhārī' and 'Agni the Fire-god' by Nandalal Bose, 'Curiosity' of D. P. Roy Chowdhury, 'My lamp goes out every time' of Charuchandra Roy and 'The spider's web' of Samarendranath Gupta, to mention a few, are typically Indian, are at once realistic and decorative, and breathe the fragrance of ancient Indian Art. Realism must well be conceded in these pictures when it is conceded in D. G. Rossetti's and Burne-Jones's pictures of the Pre-Raphaelite School. H. Majumdar has some really charming pictures published in the albums that go in his name; and Indian sculpture is well represented by the works of such eminent men as D. P. Roy Chowdhury, Karmarkar and Mhatre. Some of the excellent pictures of Ravi Varma and Raja Raja Varma form South India's contribution to modern art. But all these are supposed to be western in spirit. For every one good picture we have ten bad pictures in the art field and they have to be carefully weeded out.

FIVE-STAGES OF PRE-VEDIC DETERMINATIVE-COMPOUND-ACCENTUATION AS SURMISED BY THE HISTORIC SURVIVALS OF THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN SANSKRIT.

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(Continued from p. 351, Vol. VIII, Part IV.)

At the next stage[1] (*i.e.* the fourth one) of determinative-compound-accentuation, the accent was further shifted to the initial syllable of the second member as the following sūtras coming under the अधिकारसूत्र—

उत्तरपदादिः (P. VI, 2, 111.) show.

कंसमन्थशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विगौ (P. VI, 2, 122.)

dvi-kaṁsaḥ| tri-kaṁsaḥ| dvi-manthaḥ| tri-manthaḥ| dvi-śūrpaḥ| dvi-pāyyaḥ| dvi-kāṇḍaḥ|

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके (P. VI, 2. 123.)

brāhmaṇa-śālam|

कन्था च (P. VI, 2, 124.)

sauśami-kantham| āhvara-kantham|

चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम् (P. VI, 2, 126.)

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1. The view that the second member is more important of the two in the determinative compounds probably came to be entertained at this stage; hence was the necessity to move the accent to the first syllable of the second member from the last syllable of the first member. Although it is convenient to speak separately of these two stages (third and fourth), yet it should be borne in mind that at one time or another, during transition, the accent should have been wavering between the two syllables. There should have been also at least a subsidiary stage when the composition vowel appeared and bore the accent.

putra-celam| nagara-khetam| dadhi-katukam|
prajā-kāṇḍam|

चीरमुपमानम् (P. VI, 2, 127.)

vastra-cīram| kambala-cīram|

पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे (P. VI, 2, 128.)

ghṛta-palalam| ghṛta-sūpaḥ| ghṛta-śākam|

कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् (P. VI, 2, 129.)

dākṣi-kūlam| śāṇḍi-sūdam| dāṇḍāyana-sthalam|
dākṣi-karṣaḥ|
(All these are names of villages.)

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् (P. VI, 2, 130.)

brāhmaṇa-rājyam|[1]

वर्ग्यादयश्च (P. VI, 2, 131.)

arjuna-vargyaḥ| vāsudeva-pakṣyaḥ|

पुत्रः पुम्भ्यः (P. VI, 2, 132.)

dāśaki-putraḥ| māhiṣa-putraḥ|

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः (P. VI, 2, 134.)

mudga-cūrṇam|[2]

षट् च काण्डादीनि (P. VI, 2, 135.)

darbha-kāṇḍam| darbha-cīram| tila-palalam| mudga-sūpaḥ| mūlaka-śākam| nadī-kūlam|

कुण्डं वनम् (P. VI, 2, 136.)

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1. But we have *ku-celam ku-rājyam* for according to Kātyāyana, the accent taught in VI, 2, 126 to VI, 2, 130 is superseded by the accent of the indeclinable taught in VI, 2, 2, though that rule stands first and these subsequent.
" चेलराज्यादिस्वरादव्ययस्वरः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥ "

2. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपग्रहात्, the word उपग्रह being the old name of षष्ठी given by ancient grammarians.

darbha-kuṇḍam|[1]

The period when the composition or the thematic vowel in the determinatives of Lithuanian was accented, probably represents an intermediate stage (between the third and fourth stages of pre-Vedic-determinative-compound-accentuation) the determinative compounds passed through in pre-Vedic language.

But when somehow the composition vowel in Lithuanian disappeared (the reason for it we do not know), the original primitive Indo-European logical accent of the determinative compound was restored—(this restoration must have been, in all probability quite accidental). But in Sanskrit, as later on the second member came to be looked upon as the more important of the two, the accent should have been moved further forward to reach the final syllable of the determinative compound; and slight indeed is the transition between the fourth stage and the last one of determinative-compound-accentuation.[2]

The last stage of determinative-compound-accentuation is recorded by such sūtras of Pāṇini as are governed by the अधिकारसूत्र—

अन्तः (P. VI, 2, 143.)[3]

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1. This stage of determinative-compound-accentuation is very well represented by the following Vedic compounds.

mano-yujaḥ (Rv. I, 14, 6) ; vṛtra-hanam (Rv. I, 106, 6) ; puru-spṛham (Rv. IX, 102, 6) ; marta-bhōjanam (Rv. I, 114, 6.) ;

puru-taman (Rv. I, 5, 2.)

Sāyaṇa explains the accent of the last compound as follows:—

"तमु ग्लानौ" इति धातोरन्तर्भावितण्यर्थात् पचाद्यचि । चित्त्वादन्तोदात्तेऽपि कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं बाधित्वा "परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्" इत्युत्तरपदाद्युदात्तत्वम् ।

2. From the slight shift of the fourth stage of determinative-compound-accentuation to a distinct displacement in the fifth stage, the way was not very long. Only at this last stage of determinative-compound-accentuation, must the view of the speakers of the pre-Vedic language that the second member is more important of the two in determinative compounds have taken a very definite shape and formed a strong prepossession.

3. Under one of these sūtras (कृत्योकेष्णुच्चार्वादयश्च P. VI, 2, 160) is read the following राजाह्नोश्छन्दसि (गण. 169) by which *a-rājā*

I have already pointed out the working of analogy in the sūtra संख्या. (P. VI, 2, 35.)[1] through which some Dvandva compounds like ekā-daśa accent the first member.

There are some more sūtras which reveal to us the mysterious working of analogy in this direction

राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु (P. VI, 2, 34.)

śvāphalka-caitrakāḥ| caitraka-rōdhakāḥ|
śini-vāsudevāḥ|

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी (P. VI, 2, 36.)

Pāṇiniya rauḍhīyāḥ (Both the words in this compound have acute on the middle as formed by छ affix)[2]

कार्तकौजपादयश्च (P. VI, 2, 37.)

sāvarṇi-māṇḍūkeyau| paila-śyāparṇeyāḥ| vatsa-jarantaḥ|
kapi-śyāparṇeyāḥ| strī-kumāram| kunti-surāṣṭrāḥ|
avimatta-kāmabaddhāḥ|[3]

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and *anahaḥ* accent the last syllable in the Vedas only. In the vernacular, they have the accent of नञ्, *i.e.*, udātta on the first, (cf. भाषायां नञः स्वर एव). It is strange that the logical accent in these compounds is preserved in the later Sanskrit, while in the earlier Vedic language it is lost. The next sūtra ordains the end-acute of certain compounds in which the first member is a negative particle; but this being optional, the alternative accent is that of the indeclinable as taught by P. VI, 2, 2.

(विभाषा तृन्नन्नतीक्ष्णशुचिषु P. VI, 2, 161.)

a-kartā| a-kartā| anannam| an-annam|
a-tīkṣṇam| a-tīkṣṇam| a-śuciḥ| a-śuciḥ|

This shows that the logical accent did not completely lose its hold even in these compounds.

1. *Vide* "Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds" J.O.R.M. Volume VIII, Part II, page 144.

2. Aufrecht, Accentu compositorum Sanscriticorum, p. 9.

3. *dōṣā-vastar* (Rv. I, 1, 7.) probably represents the type of these compounds in the Ṛgvedic period, if we adopt Sāyaṇa's explanation of the accent of this compound. Sāyaṇa says here—

The compounds like ékā-daśa, which themselves were accented on the analogy with the older determinative compounds of the adjectivally descriptive class, more especially with Dvigus, probably had in their turn further analogical influence over compounds like śíni-vāsudevāḥ so that the latter too came to retain the accent of the first member.

It ought to be remembered that an ideal Dvandva compound normally accents both the members (in other words, such a compound is a loose one) since both the members are equally important. This principle is recognised in the following sūtra of Pāṇini.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च (P. VI, 2, 141.)

índrā-váruṇau (Rv. I. 35, 1.)

dyā́vā-pṛthivī́ (Rv. X, 63, 9.)[1]

(Compare what Mādhavabhaṭṭa says in his Ṛgvedānukramaṇī Part I, i, iii, 9.)

समप्रधानयोर्द्वन्द्व उदात्त उभयोरपि ।

द्यावापृथिवी मरुतो ह्वयामि मित्रावरुणौ ॥

[In this connection, it ought to be remembered that by the expression 'ideal Dvandva compounds', I mean those compounds which, being the commonest and earliest type of the old Dvandvas, are roughly brought under Wackernagel's first two stages of the Dvandva compound formation (*Vide* Altindische Grammatik II. 1 sections 63-68. p. 150-162. *See also* Macdonell's Vedic Grammar—Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertums-kunde. Sections 259-266. p. 155-158.)]

For the sake of convenience I give below some typical examples of the seven stages.

दोषाशब्दो रात्रिवाची । वस्त इत्यहर्वाची । द्वन्द्वसमासे कार्तकौजपादित्वात् आद्युदात्तः ।

But Macdonell's interpretation of the compound is different (*Vide* p. 8 Macdonell's, " A Vedic Reader for Students").

1. The compound *índrā-bṛ́haspáti* (Rv. IV, 49, 5.) has three accents for the second member. *bṛ́haspáti* of this compound is itself a double-accented one (*see* my paper on " Double-accented compounds " to be published shortly in the Madras University Journal.)

I. mitrā-varuṇā (Rv. I, 2, 9; 3, 56, 7b; 10, 64, 5b.)

II. mitrā-varuṇābhyām (Rv. V, 51, 9, MS. 1, 3, 7.)

(Bartholomae, Indogermanische Forschungen 20, 168 Anzeiger, regards these Dvandvas as abbreviations by dropping the common ending in the first member. This retention of the commonest ending of the first member, that of the nom. acc., unaltered in other cases and in derivatives is analogous to the usage of jeder-manns for jedes-manns in German.)[1]

III. indrā-pūṣṇoḥ (Rv. I, 162, 2.)

IV. indra-vāyū (Rv. VII, 90. 7b; I, 14, 3; 23, 2; 3; 139, 1.)

V. aho-rātrāṇi (Rv. X, 190, 2c.)

VI. ukthā-śastrāṇi (VS. 19, 28.)

This class of compounds is found in abundance in later saṁhitās like the Vājasaneyi and the Taittirīya Saṁhitās.

VII. iṣṭā-pūrtam (AV. VI, 123, 2d.)[2]

iṣṭā-pūrtena (Rv. X, 14, 8.)

kṛtā-kṛtam (AV. XIX, 9, 2.)]

We have so far traced the five stages of determinative-compound-accentuation. Strictly speaking, there should have been another stage also. At one time, the retention, in the compound, of the word-accent of the second member was probably felt as quite sufficient. I believe that the following sūtras of Pāṇini may perhaps warrant such an assumption.

प्रकृत्या भगालम् (P. VI, 2, 137.)

kumbhī-bhagālam| kumbhī-kapālam| kumbhī-nadālam|

गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत् (P. VI, 2, 139.)

pra-kārakaḥ| pra-karaṇam| pra-hārakaḥ| pra-haraṇam| idhma-vraścanaḥ| palāśa-śātanaḥ| śmaśru-kalpanaḥ| īṣat-karaḥ| duṣ-karaḥ| su-karaḥ| havya-vāham (Rv. I

1. Cf. Brugmann: Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen grammatik herausg, von Curtius 9, 264.

2. The older type in which a dual or plural has been turned into a singular at the end, only in order to expresse a collective meaning is represented by this compound. *See* Windisch in Festgruss an Boehtlingk, p. 115 ff.

12, 2.) ṛtā-vṛ́dhaḥ (Rv. I, 13, 6.) draviṇo-dā́ (Rv. I, 15, 7.) āṁguṣā́m (Rv. I, 62, 1.)

But this state of affairs seems not to have been allowed to prevail for a long time. This practice appears to have been checked and as the second member came to be looked upon as the more important of the two in determinative compounds, the accent seems to have been compulsorily thrown to the end of the compound.

समासस्य (P. VI, 1, 223.)

It has been already pointed out[1] that some Bahuvrīhi compounds in Sanskrit like tri-yugám logically accented the last member. Some more Bahuvrīhis of this type which Pāṇini takes into account, we shall see in the following sūtras.

बहुव्रीहाविदमेतत्तद्भ्यः प्रथमपूरणयोः क्रियागणने (P. VI, 2, 162.)

idam-prathamáḥ| idam-dvitīyáḥ|

etat-prathamáḥ| tat-prathamáḥ|

संख्यायाः स्तनः (P. VI, 2, 163.)

tri-stanā́| catus-stanā́|

विभाषा छन्दसि (P. VI, 2, 164.)

dvi-stanā́|

संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः (P. VI, 2, 165.)

deva-mitráḥ| brahma-mitráḥ| vṛkājináḥ|

kulājináḥ| kṛṣṇājináḥ|

व्यवायिनोऽन्तरम् (P. VI, 2, 166.)

vastrāntaráḥ|

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् (P. VI, 2, 167.)

bhadra-mukháḥ|

निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम् (P. VI, 2, 169.)

prakṣālita-mukháḥ| siṁha-mukháḥ|[2]

जातिकालसुखादिभ्योऽनाच्छादनात् क्तोऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः (P. VI, 2, 170.)

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1. *Vide* J.O.R.M., Vol. VIII, Part II, my article.
2. This rule being optional, when the final is not acute, then rule P. VI, 2, 110 निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् applies which makes the

sāraṅga-jagdhaḥ| palāṇḍu-bhakṣitaḥ|

sukha-jātaḥ| saṁvatsara-jātaḥ|[1]

वा जाते (P. VI, 2, 171.)

danta-jātaḥ|

नञ्सुभ्याम् (P. VI, 2, 172.)

a-yavaḥ| su-yavaḥ| aryaḥ (from a-ri) [Rv. II, 12, 4d-); 5c.] a-yoddhā (Rv. I, 32, 6.) su-śipras(Rv. II, 12, 6c.)[2]

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपर्शु (P. VI, 2, 177.)

pra-pṛṣṭhaḥ| prodaraḥ| pra-lalāṭaḥ|

वनं समासे (P. VI, 2, 178.)

pra-vanam| nir-vanam|

[Compounds like these must have been originally अव्ययीभाव-समासs accenting the first member, as is evidenced by the following sūtra of Pāṇini.

परिप्रत्युपापावर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु (P. VI, 2, 33.)

Then they should have passed through the Tatpuruṣa stage before they were finally transmuted into Bahuvrīhis] (*see* my paper on "Double-accented Compounds" to be published shortly in the Journal of the Madras University.)

अन्तः (P. VI, 2, 179.)

antar-vanaḥ|

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first member have acute on the final optionally; and when that also does not apply, then by P. VI, 2, 1. (बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्) the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of gati (गतिरनन्तरः P. VI, 2, 49). Thus there are three forms prakṣālita-mukhaḥ| prakṣālita-mukhaḥ prakṣālita-mukhaḥ| representing at least three stages of Bahuvrīhi compound-accentuation.

1. That the last compound must have been once a Tatpuruṣa is evidenced by the sūtra कालाः परिमाणिना (P. II, 2, 5).

2. The movement of this accent in backward direction in those Bahuvrīhi compounds whose first member is नञ् or सु is shown by the following two sūtras of Pāṇini.

कपि पूर्वम् (P. VI, 2, 173) a-brahmabandhūkaḥ|

अन्तश्च ((P. VI, 2, 180.)

prāntaḥ| paryantaḥ|

परेरभितोभाविमण्डलम् (P. VI, 2, 182.)

pari-tīram| pari-maṇḍalam| pari-kūlam|

[The last compound too should have been originally an अव्ययीभावसमास when it either accented the first member (pari-kūlam) by the sūtra VI, 2, 33 of Pāṇini (already quoted) or the initial syllable of the second member according to the sūtra कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे (P. VI, 2, 121).

pari-kūlam|

Then it should have passed into the intermediate stage of Tatpuruṣa and finally into Bahuvrīhi.]

प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् (P. VI, 2, 183).

pra-koṣṭham| pra-gṛham|

pra-dvāram|

निरुदकादीनि च (P. VI, 2, 284.)

nirupalam| nir-maśakam|

nir-makṣikam| niṣ-kālakaḥ|

niṣ-peṣaḥ| nis-tarīpaḥ| nis-tarīkaḥ|

duṣ-taripaḥ| nir-ajinam| ud-ajinam|

upājinam| pari-hastaḥ|

pari-karṣaḥ| nir-udakam|

[The last compound throws a flood of light on the evolution of different classes of Sanskrit compounds[1]. In this connection, compare the following illuminating remarks of Bhairavamiśra in his Candrakalā—a commentary on Nāgeśa's Laghuśabdendu-śekhara under this sūtra of Pāṇini.

निर्गतमुदकं यस्मादिति बहुव्रीहिः, निर्गतं च तदुदकमिति तत्पुरुषो वा। अर्थाभावेऽव्ययीभावो वा यद्यप्यत्र संभाव्यते तथापि तत्रैतत्सूत्रप्रवृत्तिं विनापि समासान्तोदात्तत्वेनैव सिद्धम् ॥]

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su-kumārikaḥ|

ह्स्वान्तेऽन्त्यात् पूर्वम् (P. VI, 2, 174.)

a-vrīhikaḥ| su-māṣakaḥ|

1. *Vide* my article on " Double-accented Compounds."

अभेर्मुखम् (P. VI, 2, 185.)

abhi-mukham|

अपाच्च (P. VI, 2, 186.)

apa-mukham|

स्फीगपूतवीणाञ्जोऽध्वकुक्षिसीरनामनाम च (P. VI, 2, 187.

apa-vīṇam| apāñjaḥ| apādhvā|

apa-sīraḥ| apa-halaḥ| apa-taṅgalam|

apa-nāma|

द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद्दन्मूर्धसु बहुव्रीहौ (P. VI, 2, 197.)

dvi-pāt (Rv. IV, 51, 5; X, 27, 10; 117, 8.)

tri-pādūrdhvaḥ (Rv. X, 90, 4.)

dvidan| tri-murdhānam (Rv. I, 146, 1a.)

सक्थं चाक्रान्तात् (P. VI, 2, 198.)

gaura-sakthaḥ| ślakṣṇa-sakthaḥ|

The disturbance set in, in the matter of accentuation of epithetised compounds during the Vedic period, is recorded by Pāṇini and the Vārtikakāra in the next sūtra

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् (P. VI, 2, 499.)

[अत्र वार्त्तिकम्]

" परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।
पूर्वादयश्च दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥ "

añji-sakthāya (TS. 7, 3, 17, 1. KS. Aśvamedhagrantha 3, 7.)

vāk-patiḥ (VS. 4, 4; TS. 1, 2, 1, 2; 6, 1, 1, 9.)

a-mṛtam (Rv. I, 35, 2.)

tri-dhātuni (Rv. I, 85, 12b.)

tri-dhātu (Rv. I, 154, 4c.)

su-vīram (Rv. I, 85, 12d.)

uru-vyacasā (Rv. I, 160, 2a.

" अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिचक्रादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् "

(Vārttika). tri-cakreṇa (Rv. I, 118, 2b; X, 85, 14b. TS. 4, 7, 15, 4.)

tri-vṛtā (TS. 7, 3, 14, 1.)

sū-pāyana (Rv. I, 1, 9b.)

su-parṇas (Rv. I, 35, 7a.)

hiraṇyākṣas (Rv. I, 38, 8c,)

su-nīthas (Rv. I, 35, 7b; 35, 10a.)

uru-gāyaḥ (Rv. I, 154, 1d.)

uru-kramasya (Rv. I. 154, 5c.)

tri-ṣadhastha (Rv. IV, 50, 1.)

a-saścat-ā (Rv. I, 160, 2a.)

"This dual a-saścat-ā is a Bahuvrīhi compound, 'having no second,' while a-saścant (also an epithet of Dyāvāpṛthivī) is a Karmadhāraya, 'not a second=unequalled",[1]].

"Bahuvrīhis formed with *'a'* or *'an'* are almost invariably accented on the final syllable as a distinction from Karmadhārayas (which normally accent the first syllable a-mānuṣaḥ Rv. X, 22, 8); e.g. a-mātram (Rv. I, 102, 7.)"[2]

" पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्वृद्धादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् "

Vārttika. marud-vṛddhaḥ| citra-bhānuḥ (Rv. I, 35, 4.)

tveṣa-saṃdṛśaḥ (Rv. I, 85, 8d.)

" पूर्वपदाद्युदात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् "

Vārttika. divo-dāsam (Rv. I, 112, 14 b; IV, 26, 3d; VI, 61, 1b; VII, 18, 25c.)

divo-dāsāya (Rv. IX, 61, 2.)

hiraṇya-pāṇiḥ (Rv. I, 35, 9a.)

bhūri-śṛṅgā (Rv. I, 154, 6b.)

Now I conclude this paper with the following inferences deduced from what has been seen so far.

(1) In the pro-ethnic period, as the determinative-compounds which logically accented their first member were shuffled into a new class of compounds (which is designated as the epithetised class), they should then have quite logicaly accented the second

(1) A Vedic Reader by A. A. Macdonell, Page 38.

(2) *Vide* A Vedic Grammar for Students by A. A. Macdonell, Page 455, footnote 2.

member (and frequently the accent in this case might have been thrown to the final syllable of the compound).

(2) The displacement of stress by pitch accent might have originally been responsible for starting the movement of the determinative-compound-accent towards the last syllable of the first member; by this time a corresponding backward movement too, might, in all probability, have come to be started in the possessive-compound-accentuation.

(3) In the pro-ethnic period, between the stage of accenting the final syllable of the first member and the stage of accenting the initial syllable of the second member in determinative-compounds, there should have been an intermediate stage.

In a similar way, between the corresponding two stages of accentuation (namely that of initial accentuation of the second member and that of the end accentuation of the first member) of the epithetised compounds, there should have been an intermediate stage. The compounds of both the classes in Lithuanian, in which appears the composition or thematic vowel that bears the accent, correspond to those of this intermediate stage (when the accents of the determinative compounds and epithetised compounds coincided).

[The greek determinative compound *Megalopolis* meaning, "great-town" has the same accentuation as the Greek possessive compound *megalopolies* meaning, "great-townforming"[1]. Compare also the accentuation of the following Greek possessive compounds

melan-o-komos and

andr-o-boulos.[2]

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1. *Vide* Bopp's Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend usw. Volume III. Translated by B. Eastwick into English, para 981.

2. *Ibid* para 982. *See also* para 970 where Bopp notices some more Greek compounds which have an accented composition vowel. "In the development of the separate languages, the use of *-o-* as the connecting link in compound-words was especially frequent; hence this ending has been called the 'Vowel of composition' ('Composition-vocal')" Brugmann Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen Volume II, Section 13, page 28. English Translation.

Then, as though repelled by each other, the two accents were restored to their original logical positions in Lithuanian; but in Sanskrit, the further movement of the two accents in the direction towards which they originally began their move (that of the determinative compounds moving forward and that of the epithetised class moving backward) was not retarded; and finally aided by the view that the second member is more important of the two in determinative compounds, its accent moved to the last syllable of the compound and correspondingly the initial syllable of the epithetised compounds came to be accented as in divodāsam. Probably later on, it was felt quite sufficient to retain the original accent alone of the first member in epithetised compounds; and somehow it should have been felt unnecessary to scrupulously accent the initial syllable of these compounds.

ADDENDA

I

In connection with the discussion of the third stage of determinative compound accentuation, it is useful to remember that H. Hirt considers the accentuation of the relatively few compounds of the type Viśvá śambhuvam, Pūrvá-Pītis, etc., older than that of the majority (*Vide* Der Indogermanische Akzent 319. Cp. also. F. T. Wood "Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian", page 21). Some compounds of this type are mentioned by Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar, Section 125-E. For further examples, *see* Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik II (1) Section 17-E and Das Dehnungsgesetz Griechischen Nominal Komposita 15.

"Bezzenberger (Beitræge zur geschichte der litauischen Sprache Gœttingen 106) goes so far as to suggest the possibility that the primary stress in Avestan and Sanskrit compounds may at one time have rested, universally or frequently, on the thematic vowel of the prior constituent." *Vide* F. T. Wood. l. c. page 22.

II

On page 132, I have noticed some dvandva compounds of the older type in which a dual or plural has been turned into a singular at the end. The following remarks of Delbruck, whose view now is generally accepted, may be read with interest in regard to the question of the origin of dvandva compounds.

He says, "The well-known unity of two things which supplement each other may be expressed by the dual of the more important one. When to these duals is added occasionally the singular of the complementary word, but generally by attraction dual, this is due to a desire for clearness". (Syntactische Fors chungen Band V 98) Delbruck rightly believed that the elliptic dual was the starting point, and from that was developed the double dual dvandva, and finally all the dvandvas of classical Sanskrit.

"In mitrā táṇā ná rathyā varuṇo yáśca sukrátuḥ sanāt sujātā tánayā dhṛtávratā (Rv. VIII, 25, 2). "Mitrā, an elliptic dual means 'Mitra and Varuṇa', but to make the matter perfectly plain the poet seems to have added afterwards varuṇo - - - ca 'and varuṇa too' which produces a collocation that is pleonastic and highly illogical though easily comprehensible." Bergaigne and Wackernagel raise the question whether vocatives like Mitrā-varuṇa (P. P· varuṇā) Rv. I. 15. 6. etc., may be long here; whether in short, the form varuṇa of the Saṁhitā text be not an old Voc. Sg., supplementing the (elliptic) dual Mitrā. But little reliance can be placed on this, since the Voc., as well as the Nom. Acc., dual appears repeatedly with short *a* (*See* Lanman N. inflection); yet it is possible that in one or another of the instances (they occur repeatedly) the complementary noun may have been originally felt as a singular." (*See* Kuhn's Zeits-chrift Band 43. p. 111 f. n. 1 and p. 112 f.n. 1.)

As F. Edgerton says, after a double-dual dvandva, the repetition of one member, especially the first one, in the sg. is unthinkable. The same scholar has, to my mind, conclusively proved that in the primitive Indo-European there ought to have been two stages of Dvandva compound formation. (1) Elliptic dual as represented by Sanskrit Mitrā. (2) Elliptic dual with the addition of the singular of the complementary word as represented by Mitrā. . . . Varuṇa. In Aryan the double duals of the type mitrā-varuṇā were formed and in the classical language the dvandvas of the type mitrā-varuṇau were formed. Vide Kuhn's Zeits-chrift Band 43. Origin and Development of Elliptic Dual and of Dvandva Compounds by F. Edgerton. P. 110 ff.

III

Towards the close of my paper I have alluded to the fact of some Lithuanian compounds having the composition vowel. In that context it is good to remember the following physical fact noted by scholars. "Julian Kremer (Behandlung der suffixe in der fuge nominaler zusammensetzungen im Litauischen, in Bezzenberger's Beitrage zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen, 7th

volume, section 7. Der composition vocal, p. 42) offers as a principal reason for the use of *ā* or *ă* as a composition vowel (in Schleicher's sense, which includes the Svarabhakti vowel) in Lithaunian the fact that this sound represents the 'Indifferenzlage' the neutral position to which the organs of speech most naturally return. Thus not only is the development explained, under certain conditions, of a svarabhakti vowel after the thematic vowel of the first constituent had disappeared, but the inclination of 'a' to remain in many instances as a composition vowel or to substitute itself for others receives a firm basis in physical fact" *Vide,* F. T. Wood. Op. Cit., page 18.

ŚUCĪNDRAM INSCRIPTION OF BHŪTALA VĪRA RĀMA VARMĀ, A. D. 1546.

BY

S. DESIKAVINAYAKAM PILLAI.

The inscription edited below is found engraved on the north wall near the Gopuravāśal or the main entrance on the east of the well-known Sthāṇunātha temple at Śucīndrum. It is written in the Tamil language and the characters employed are also Tamil. The object of the record is to register an order of king Venṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varmā alias Śaṅkaranārāyaṇamūrti Vēlaikkāraṉ, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasiṁhanāḍ, for instituting a special worship on the day of Rohiṇī, the birthday of Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala, the Vijayanagar Viceroy of South India between the years 1544 and 1555 A. D. The inscription is interesting as it throws a flood of light on the political condition of Travancore about the middle of the 16th century A. D.

That Travancore was more than once invaded by the Vijayanagar army is undoubted. The first expedition was led by Salakkam Tirumala under the orders of Achyuta Rāya and the second by Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala of our record during the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya.[1]

The reasons for the latter are said to be the following:

1. The king of Travancore was gradually extending his authority over a considerable area of the Tinnevelly District which legitimately belonged to the Pāṇḍya chieftains who held sway under the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar emperor.[2]

2. Francis Xavier, the Portuguese missionary[3] who began his proselytizing activities in South India about the year 1543 A. D., converted all the Paravas of Cape Comorin, Tuticorin and

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1. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 704.

2. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, p. 14.

3. " He (the Portuguese Governor) thinks of collecting all these native Christians who are now scattered at great distances from each other, of transplanting them to a certain island, and giving them a king to administer justice and look after their safety and interests."—The Hand of Xavier, pp. 5 and 6.

other places to Christianity and consequently there arose the danger of these neophytes changing their allegiance from 'the Indian rulers to the king of Portugal'.

3. Some of the rich temples of the Hindus were actually despoiled by the Portuguese Governor and his followers and the booty divided among them or sent to their king in Portugal.[1]

Circumstances such as these called for the immediate intervention of the central Government at Vijayanagar. Rāmāraja Viṭṭhala was appointed Viceroy[2] and sent to the South with a large army at his command. His military expedition was a complete success. The Portuguese Governor Alfonso de Sousa and his men were scared away. The Paravas of the coastal regions remained loyal subjects of the Hindu Rājas as before and the aggressive policy of the Travancore king was effectively checked. The present document bears eloquent testimony to the political peace-offering which Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varma made to one of the most powerful and influential representatives of the Vijayanagar Empire at that time.

An unpublished inscription from Cape Comorin states that Viṭṭhaladeva set up a pillar of victory there after his successful campaign in the South.

Numerous inscriptions of Travancore kings are found scattered all over the Tinnevelly District. A study of them and also of the records from some of the temples in South Travancore reveals to us that Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varma and another king Bhūtala Vīra Udayamārtāṇḍa were ruling simultaneously in the year 722 M. E. (*See* appendix). Were they co-regents or independent kings ?

What is the exact significance of the epithet சங்கரநாராயண ? Why is it often prefixed to the names of the Travancore kings who belonged to the latter part of the 7th or the earlier part of the 8th century M. E. and not to any rulers of other times ? These are interesting questions yet to be solved by research. The ruler of Travancore in modern days styles himself Śrī Padmanābha Dāsa in memory of the great dedication of the state to God Śrī Padmanābha of Trivandrum by Mārtāṇḍa Varmā in 925 M. E. (1750 A. D.) Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa is the name of the presiding deity in the temple at Nāvāykkuḷam (நாவாய்க்குளம்), a village

1. The Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, p. 297.
2. S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 704.

about 8 miles to the north-east of Āṟṟiṅgaḷ (ஆற்றிங்கல்), the cradle of the reigning Royal family of Travancore.

The astronomical details found in ll. 1-2 are correct for October 26, 1546 A. D.

TEXT.

1. ஶுபமஸ்து ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் எ௱உ௰உ௵ துலா ஞாயிற்று பூறுவ பக்கத்து திதிகையும் மங்கல
2. வாரமும் பெற்ற அனுழத்தினாள் செதுங்கநாட்டு சங்கரநாராயண மூர்த்தி வேளைக்காறன் வென்றும
3. ண்கொண்ட பூதலவீர இராமவன்மர் என்று பேருடை செதுங்க நாட்டு மூத்தவராய நாம்நயி
4. னார் சிவிந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கோயிலுக்கு சீகாரியமும் சீகாரிய (க்) கணக்கும் மொழிய நயினார் தேசமாய்
5. உள்ளதுக்கெல்லாம் கேழ்வியும் ஆச்சினையும் நாளது முதலுக்கு தவிர்த்து இதிலுண்டான கேழ்வி உடை
6. மையும் ஆச்சினை உடைமையும் ஆண்டு ஒன்றுக்குக் கோட்டை இருபது இக்கோட்டை இருபதுக்கும் திரு
7. நாள் படிக்கு பணமும் நெல்லும் உற்ற படியும் விட்டலேச்சுர மகாராசாவின் திருநற்கேத்திரமான உரோ
8. கணி நர்கேத்திரத்தில் பெருமாள் தெந்திருவேங்கட விண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அமுது (செ) சய்யசிற
9. ப்புக்கும் பாயிதத்துக்கும் திரு ஆராதனை கூடினால் பிறத்தே சீவ லிப் பிறகாரத்திலே எழுந்தருளுகிற
10. வகைக்கும் விட்டுக்குடுத்தோம் நயினார் தேசமாய் உள்ளதுக்கெல் லாம் வயிராவியயும்மு
11. றையம் பிள்ளையையும் நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினா(ர்) ஆணை வாளாகப் பாத்துக்கொள்ளும்
12. படி எழுநூற்று இருபத்திரண்டாமாண்டு அற்பசி மாதம் இருபத் தாருந்தெய்தி மலைமண்டலத்து
13. கல்க்குளத்தில் வீடாயிருந்து கற்பித்த அளவுக்கு ஆசந்தாதாரவற் செம்பிலும் கல்லிலும் வெ
14. ட்டிப்பரிப்பித்துக் கொள்ளவும் இப்படிக்குக் கணக்கு வெங்கடக் கிட்டிணன் எழுத்து.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

On the 26th of Tulām 722 M. E. Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varmā, the Senior Tiruvaḍi of Jayasiṁhanāḍ,

abolished certain posts, other than those of Śrīkāryam and Śrīkāryakkaṇakku, in the establishment of the Śucīndram temple, and with the savings thus effected made provision for offerings and special worship to God தென் திருவேங்கட முடையார் on the day of Rohiṇi which was the natal star of Viṭhaleśvara Mahārāja (of the Vijayanagar empire). The order was issued while the king was camping at Kalkulam in Malaimaṇḍalam. It bears the signature of the accountant திருவேங்கடக்கிட்டிணன்.

Notes.

l. 2. (*a*) Another inscription of the same king dated 13th Kārtikai 722 M. E. has the following:

"சேதுங்க நாட்டுச் சங்கர நாராயண மூர்த்தி திரு வேளைக்காறன்". (S. I. I., V, No., 409).

'வேளைக்காரர்'—"இவ்வாறு செய்வேன், செய்யா தொழிவேனுகில் இன்னகேடு யானுறுவேன்' என்று தானே சபதங்கூறிக்கொண்டு அதன்படி நடக்கும் ஆப்தர்கள்". (செந்தமிழ். தொ. XVI, ப. 3).

Contra S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 98 Foot note.

In the text the expression means only 'a staunch devotee of God Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa'.

(*b*) 'வென்றுமண் கொண்ட'

'Who took the earth by right of conquest'. Contra, S. I. I. Vol. I, pp. 77-8.

l. 4. சிவிந்திரம்.—Modern சுசீந்திரம்—the place where Indra's body was purified. It is situated in South Travancore.

ஸ்ரீகாரியம்.—The post of the temple manager.

நயினர் தேசமாய்...........தவிர்த்து.—From this it can easily be inferred that the posts maintained for the general supervision of the temple lands were abolished by the king's command.

l. 5. கேழ்வி (கேள்வி).

(1) Command, oral sanction. 'நம்வாய்க் கேழ்விப்படி' (S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 306).

(2) Administration of justice (Lexicon). The office of the tax-collector in Nāñjināḍ corresponding to that of the village munsiff in other parts is even now known as கேழ்விக்கச்சேரி.

ஆச்சினை (ஆக்கினை) punishment, penalty.

உடமை (உடைமை) pay or remuneration given to temple servants etc.

cf. உடமைப்பணம், உடமைக்காரர்.

l. 7. நற்சேத்திரம்.—நக்ஷத்திரம்.

l. 8. தென் திருவெங்கட விண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான்.—the name of the God (Viṣṇu) in the temple at Śucīndram.

l. 9. சிறப்பு.—special pūjā or worship.

பாயிதம்—பாயஸம்.

l. 10. வயிராவி. The members of a separate caste in S. Travancore are known as Vairavis (Bhairāgis) or Yōgipparadēśis. Many of them are hereditary watchmen or door-keepers of the temples at Śucīndram, Cape Comorin and other places in Nāñjināḍ. (*See* T. A. S. Vol. V, Part II, pp. 168-170).

l. 11. முறையம்பிள்ளை—a menial servant.

ஆணவாள் an interesting word.

ஆனவாள் and ஆனைவாள் are its variants.

See T. A. S. Vol. V, Part. II, p. 168. Foot note; K. S. Papers Series 4, pp. 219 & 220.

l. 13. கல்க்குளம்—modern Padmanābhapuram. It was the ancient capital of Travancore.

APPENDIX.

List of Travancore kings whose inscriptions are found dated in the year 722 M. E.

No.	King.	Place.	Date.	Remarks.
1	*Rāma Varma* Tiruvaḍi Paṇḍāram of Jayasiṁhanāḍu ..	Kariśūḻndamaṅgalam	Ko. 722 Mārkaḻi 8.	Administration Report of the Travancore Archeological Dept. for 1108 M. E. p. 21, No. 19.
2	Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtala Vīra Śrī Vīra *Udayamārtāṇḍa Varma* Siraivai Muttavar ..	Tiruppudamarudūr.	Ko. 722 Tai 10.	Do. p. 22, No. 24.
3	Jayatuṅganāṭṭu Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Śrī Bhūtala Vīra *Rāma Varma*, Jayatuṅganāṭṭu Muttavar ..	Teṉkāśi	Ko. 722 Chitrai 17.	Do. p. 24, No. 30.
4	Jayatuṅganāṭṭu Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtala Vīra Śrī *Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma* Siraivai Muttavar ..	Āḻvārtirunagari	Ko. 722 Mīnam.	Do. p. 25, No. 35.
5	Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtala Vīra *Udayamārtāṇḍa Varmar* Siraivai muttavar of Jayasiṁhanāḍ ..	Kattari-maṅgalam.	Ko. 722 Āḍi 25.	Madras Epigraphical Report for 1929-30, No. 372.
6	Jayasiṁhanāṭṭu Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Mūrti Tiruvelaikkāraṉ Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Śrī Bhūtala Vīra *Rāma Varman*, Jayasiṁhanāṭṭu Muttavar ..	Tinnevelly	Ko. 722 Kārtikai 13.	South Indian Inscriptions Vol. V, No. 409
7	Jayasiṁhanāṭṭu Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Mūrti Velaikkāraṉ Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtala Vīra *Rāma Varmar* ..	Śucīndram	Ko. 722 Tulām 26.	

TAMIL Ḻ

BY

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The history and the phonetic relationships of the sound ḻ [=ழ்] which is characteristic of Tamil and a few other Dravidian languages and so difficult of utterance to the uninitiated foreigner, have so far not been clarified or discussed with reference to all the Dravidian speeches and dialects. Caldwell made a few summary and categorical observations regarding this sound in his *Comparative Grammar* (pages 144, 161, 162 of the second edition); but, since the time of this distinguished pioneer student of Dravidian, so much new linguistic material relating to the major and the minor speeches of this language-family has been collected that it is essential now to make a revaluation of facts regarding the occurrence of the sound, its phonation, its distribution and its relatives and developments. The aim of the present paper is to make a revaluation of this kind with the help of all available materials: the data furnished by inscriptions and literary texts, the evidence of the indigenous grammars of the south and the testimony of the forms of the north.

Distribution.

The sound ḻ exists in old and new Tamil, old and new Malayāḷam, old Kannaḍa (before the 13th century), in pre-literary Telugu inscriptions, in Baḍaga and in Toda. In the last-mentioned dialect (spoken by a few hundreds of hill-men in the Nilgiris), the sound is met with to-day only as a development of other sounds.

Tamil.

Generally speaking, the sound receives correct evaluation in the Tamil country. It is true that in some areas and among some communities, the sound changes to ḷ or becomes "corrupted" to *y;* but the actual phonation of the sound is recognized everywhere, any alteration in the correct evaluation being considered (sometimes even by the speakers themselves) as a departure from the normal standard of purity. On p. 18 of his *Manuel de*

la langue Tamoule, Vinson observes: "*ḻ* a Pondicherry, a Karikal et dans le Tanjāvūr s'articule comme le *j* francais, dans le Madurē et au nord-ouest comme *ḷ* cerebral; vers Madras il ne se prononce pas ou s' adoucit en *y*". Prof. Vinson's observation should not, I think, lead to a wrong emphasis being laid on the fact that these "corruptions" are in any way universal or are not recognised as such by the large majority of speakers.

The sound is a very common one in literature from the earliest known times. The number of words with *ḻ* is much more numerous in Tamil than in any other Dravidian speech. Later on in the course of my essay, I shall give a list of Tamil literary words with *ḻ*, the cognates of which do not evidence *ḻ* even in Mal. or in Kannaḍa. At least a few of these may show a secondarily developed *ḻ*. I would, however, mention here the common colloquial *kēḻ* for *kēḷ* 'to hear' as containing a secondary *ḻ* derived from *ḷ*. [cf. also *kēḻvi-p-paḍi* in a 11th century inscription published on p. 106, Part I, Vol. II of South Indian Inscriptions].

Malayāḷam.

The sound exists in both the literary and the colloquial dialects of this west coast speech. Here too, though "corruptions"[1] of the sound occur in the speech of the uneducated masses, the pure value of the sound receives universal recognition.

A secondarily developed *ḻ* is met with in Malayāḷam in the following instances:—

āḻca 'week'—cf. Tam. *āṭci*
kāḻca 'sight'—cf. ,, *kāṭci*
vēḻca 'love'—cf. *vēḷ-*
vēḻvi 'sacrifice'—cf. ,,
nīḻ-in old literary compounds like *nīḻ-kaṇṇāḷ*, cf. *nīḷ* 'long' etc.
kiḻukk- 'to knock on the head'
kēḻ- 'to weep'

The above forms are standard literary words, and many of them are used in common speech also; but the following words are "corrupt" colloquial variants heard in parts of Malabar:—

1. *cf.*, particularly, "corrupt" forms like *oyiccu* [for *oḻiccu*] in *viṭṭoyiccu* 'left off', *oṟakkoyiccu* 'cast off sleep' of Mopla Mal. [p. 4 of the texts of Gramaphone Records published by the Madras Govt.]

a̲laykk- for *ayakk-* 'to send'
ka̲luññu for *kavuññu* [IA *kramuka*] 'areca-nut-tree'.

Kannaḍa.

The sound disappeared from Kannaḍa by about the 13th century from which time it changed to *ḷ* wherever syncope did not lead to the suppression of the sound.

A secondarily derived *l̲* appears in literary Kannaḍa in the following:—

(i) The following words, the counterparts of which do not show *l̲* in Tamil or in Mal.

cē̲l 'scorpion'—cf. Tam. *tēḷ*.
pokku̲l 'navel'—cf. „ *pokkuḷ*.
ka̲lal 'buttermilk'—cf. Tam. *kaḍai-* 'to churn'.

(ii) Word compounds in which final *ḍ* changes to *l̲* [see Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, 183]:—

kāl̲-kiccu 'forest fire' [*kāḍu* + *kiccu*].
nāl̲-kaḍe 'village shop' [*nāḍu* + *kaḍe*].
eral̲-mātu 'two words' [*eraḍu* + *mātu*].

(iii) In inflexional and conjugational *sandhi*:—
future stem with *p*:—*māl̲-p-*,
nōl̲-p-;
dative forms with *-g*:— *esal̲-ge*=*esaḍi-ge*;
optatives with *-ke* *māl̲ge*=*māḍu-ge*.

(iv) Some verbal and nominal bases with optional *l̲*.—
kul̲-g- =*kur̲ug-* 'to be contracted'.
nul̲-g- =*nur̲u-g-* 'to be reduced to fragments'.
pel̲-g- 'to quarrel'—cf. *peṇag-*.
el̲du =*erudu* 'bull'.
pal̲ti =*parti* 'cotton'.

Telugu.

Very important for the student of Dravidian is the discovery of the presence of the sound *l̲* in some of the pre-literary Telugu inscriptions. Epigraphists are agreed (in spite of a few dissentient views) in thinking that the sound *l̲* does occur in a number of pre-Nannaya inscriptions. I give below a list of a few[1] relevant words containing the sound:—

1. Inscriptional instances of place-names (as read by M. S. Śarma) *tāl̲uṭūru*, *pal̲aki* (which name has now changed to *prakki*) and *pl̲ōlnāṇḍu* (now *prōlnāḍu*).

cōḻa 'cōḷa' [Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., p. 223; Vol. VIII, p. 177; Vol. XI, p. 337].
ēḻu 'seven' [Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 337, 845].
ḻaccina pāpam 'the sin of destroying' [*ib*., p. 676.]
ḻassi 'having destroyed' [*ib*.]
aḻicina pāpam 'the sin of having destroyed'
ḻaccina-vāṉṟu 'he who destroyed'
ḻaccu-vāṉṟu 'he who destroys' [Vikram. inscription.]
koḻalci 'having caused to shine' [Addanki inscr.]

From about the 10th and the 11th centuries onwards in literary texts and inscriptions, *ēḻu* appears as *ēḍu* and *cōḻa* as *cōḍa*. So far as *ḻacc-*, *ḻass-* and *aḻi-* are concerned, the suggestion that the common base underlying these forms appears later as *ḍayy-* 'to be destroyed' has already been made, though nobody has proved the derivation with analogies. I suggest the following proofs to show that *aḻi* [corresponding to Tamil, Kann. *aḻi*], *ḻayy-* [the base of the past stem *ḻacc-*, *ḻass-*], and later *ḍayy-* are normally related:—

(i) the occurrence of accent-shift accompanied by the aphæresis of the initial syllable. is a phonological phenomenon in Telugu which I have already discussed elsewhere at some length [QJMS, 1932]. A form like *ḻayy-* in which the vowel *-a-* represents the aphæresized original initial *a-* of *aḻi* is normally derivable from *aḻi-*; cf. Tel. *lē-* =Tam., Kann. *eḻ-*, Tel. *ḍi-g-* =Tam., Kann. *iḻi-*, Tel. *gruyyi* =Tam., Kann. *kuḻi*.

(ii) The correspondence of literary Tel. *ḍ* =Tam., Kann. *ḻ* is met with in numerous instances (*see* below).

It is therefore quite justified to postulate that *ḻayy-*, *aḻi-* of the old Telugu inscriptions are normally connected with literary *ḍayy-* and *aḍi-* in *aḍi-y-āsa* 'vain hope'.

These inscriptional Telugu forms with *ḻ*, and particularly the accent-shifted *ḻaccina*, *ḻassi*, etc., do raise the presumption that at a stage previous to the 11th century, the sound *ḻ* occurred at least in a few instances in Telugu also, as in Tamil and in Kannaḍa and that this *ḻ* changed to *ḍ* in instances like *ḍayy-*, *ēḍu*. The forms with *ḻ* are met with in inscriptions of different tracts

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The existence of *ḻ* in Telugu inscriptions was first pointed out by the epigraphist Lakṣmaṇa Rao; and, later, these instances have been discussed by others in the columns of the Journal of the Telugu Academy and of the Telugu monthly Bhārati.

of the Telugu country and of different periods. Further, the accent-shift and aphæresis (so characteristic of Telugu and conspicuous by its absence in Tam. and in Kannaḍa) underlying the sorms *ḻacciṇa*, *ḻassi* rule out the suggestion that these forms may have been borrowed from Kannaḍa.

Baḍaga.

The sound ḻ occurs in Baḍaga (a dialect of Kannaḍa with certain marked peculiarities) in two sets of instances:—(i) in accent-shifted Baḍaga variants of older words with ḻ corresponding to their Kannaḍa counterparts with ḻ; (ii) as a new development of the older cerebral ḷ in some words.

(i) old ḻ in accent-shifted Baḍaga forms[1]:—

hḻē-g- 'to speak'	—cf.	Kann.	*pēḻ-*, *hēḻ-*
kḻai- 'to be finished'	—cf.	Kann.	*kaḻi-*
nḻālu 'shade'	—cf.	,,	*neḻal*
hogḻ- 'to praise'	—cf.	,,	*pogaḻ-*
tḻagg- 'to be lowered'	—cf.	,,	*taḻg-*
yḻi-g- 'to descend'	—cf.	,,	*iḻi*
yḻa- 'to weep'	—cf.	,,	*aḻ-*
gḻuyi 'pit'	—cf.	,,	*guḻi*; cf. also Tel. *gruyyi*.
bḻu- 'to fall'	—cf.	,,	*bīḻ-*
kḻī 'below'	—cf.	,,	*kīḻ*
yḻe- 'to rise'	—cf.	Kann.	*eḻ-*
kḻi- 'to tear'	—cf.	,,	*kiḻi-*
bḻāyi 'way'	—cf.	,,	*baḻi*
hḻaye 'old'	—cf.	,,	*haḻe*, *paḻe*.

The accent-shift is evidenced by the disappearance of the original vowel of the first syllable (which leads to the consonant groups with ḻ), and by the transference (with lengthening in some instances like *hḻē-* 'to speak', *kḻī* 'below') of the vowel of the original first syllable to the radical position in the newly-formed words.

(ii) Badaga ḻ as a development of older ḷ:—

hengḻu 'women'	—cf.	Kann.	*hengaḷu*, *hengasuru*
obbḻu 'one woman'	—cf.	,,	*obbaḷu*
makkḻu 'children'	—cf.	,,	*makkaḷu*
jinagḻu 'days'	—cf.	,,	*dinagaḷu* [IA *dina* 'day']
avḻa 'her'	—cf.	,,	*avaḷa*

1. All these instances are collected from the Baḍaga gospels written by the Mangalore missionaries. I learn that in common colloquial very often the sound ḻ is slurred over in Baḍaga today.

hōdḻa 'she went'—cf. Kann. *pōdaḷu*
tiṅgḻu 'month' —cf. ,, *tiṅgoḷu*
bḻe 'corn' —cf. ,, *beḷe*
bḻai 'outside' —cf. ,, *beḷi*
mḻō- 'to sprout' —cf. ,, *moḷe-*
kḻē- 'to hear' —cf. ,, *kēḷ-*
kḻēg- 'to send' —cf. ,, *kaḷuhis-*
yḻōgu 'inside' —cf. ,, *oḷagu*
bḻēdu 'it grew ripe'—cf. ,, *beḷedudu*
bḻīccal 'light' —cf. ,, *beḷicca*

Toda.

(i) Old *ḻ* is replaced by different sounds in this dialect:—

biḍult- 'having fallen' —cf. Kann. *bīḻd-*
kirk 'below' —cf. ,, *kīḻ*
kūḍi 'fowl' —cf. ,, *kōḻi*
āṭṭidi 'wept' —cf. ,, *aḻ-*
boḷi 'way' —cf. ,, *baḷi*
eḍut- 'having risen' —cf. ,, *eḻ-d-*
īṣṭi 'having dragged' —cf. ,, *iḻ-d-*
kuḍi 'ditch' —cf. ,, *kuḻi*
eḍēṟṟi 'having roused' —cf. ,, *eḻb-*
pūf 'worm' [Note syncope]—cf. ,, *puḻu*

(ii) A new *ḻ* appears in the following words used by Miss C. F. Ling in her gospels; in reply to a query of mine she writes to me that the sound *ḻ* in these words is exactly like Tamil *ḻ* in phonation:—

tiḻḻim 'glad' —cf. Kann. *tiḷi* 'bright'
biḻḻi 'silver' —cf. ,, *beḷḷi*
bāḻ, pāḻ 'sword' —cf. ,, *bāḷ*
puḻḻu 'bird' —cf. ,, *puḷ*
bēḻ, pēḻ 'finger' —cf. ,, *beraḷ, berḷu, beḷḷu*
muḻḻi 'thorn' —cf. ,, *muḷḷu, muḷ*

II

Phonation.

Both in Tamil and in Malayāḷam, it is a voiced continuative produced by the passage of air through a channel (slightly broader than that for *ṣ*) formed between the curled-up tongue-tip and the cacuminal (or sometimes post-alveolar) region of the mouth-roof. There is no contact (except for the sides of the

tongue, with some speakers) with the mouth-roof; if a contact occurred, the sound produced would be the plosive ḍ when there explosion preceded by tension, or ḻ when the air is allowed to escape sideways. There is also no "hissing" as for the production of the voiced variety of ṣ; the passage between the tongue-tip and the mouth-roof should be kept slightly broader than for the production of the voiced variant of ṣ in order to allow air to escape through the passage and along the sides in a continuous stream without any "hissing" whatsoever.

The notation of the Royal Asiatic society employs ḻ to denote the sound, while the I. P. Association (following the suggestion of Prof. Daniel Jones) regards it as a cerebralised variety of the fricative heard in the south English evaluationof *r* in the English word *farm*.

The description given in the old Tamil grammars about the manner of production of the sound is not sufficiently clear.

Tol., Eḻ., 95 says: *nuni nā aṇara aṇṇam varuḍa ra-gāra ḻa-gāram-āy-iraṇḍum piṟakkum* "*r* and ḻ are produced when the tip of the tongue gently rubs the hard palate".

Nannūl 83: *aṇṇam nuṉi nā varuḍa ra ḻa varum* "when the tongue-tip gently rubs the hard palate, *r* and ḻ are produced".

It is difficult to see from a present-day stand point (i) why *r* and ḻ should be clubbed together with regard to their manner of production, (ii) how there is any "gentle rubbing" at all in the production of ḻ which (as evaluated to-day in Tamil) involves no "rubbing" of the tip.

The continuant character of the sound ḻ is, however, recognized by Tol. El. 21 which classifies it as an *iḍai-y-eḻuttu* with *y*, *l*, ḷ and *v*, by Sūtra 78 which allows ḻ to be the absolute final in words, and by Sūtra 48 which allows the sound as the initial member of consonant groups with *k*, *c*, *p*, *t*, etc.

There is also little doubt that the sound ḻ was a cacuminal from a fairly early time because of the *sandhi* underlying word-compounds like *śōṇāḍu* [=*śōḻa*+*nāḍu*.]

The fourteenth-century Mal. grammar Līlātilakam recognizes ḻ as a unique Tam.—Mal. sound with a cerebral value. Its individuality as a separate phoneme is specifically discussed in the commentary on Sūtra II, 7 of this work.

The Kannaḍa grammars Śabda Smṛti [Sūtra 6] and Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa [18] point out the cerebral character of the sound

ḻ in Kannaḍa becaused of its *ekasthāni* relationship to the *mūrdhanya* plosive *ḍ*.

The Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa belonging to the 13th century (by which time the sound ḻ was far on the road to disappearance in Kannaḍa), devotes as many as seven *sūtras* to the discussion of the rules relating to the ḻ-sound. Among other things it prescribes the need for the use of ḻ in words according to the usage of great poets [23]: *mahākavi dṛṣṭamam nirākuḷam pēḷge.* Sūtra 48 of the same grammar refers to the occurrence of the sound ḻ as an absolute final in Kannaḍa,—which is an implied recognition of the "continuant" character of the sound.

(To be continued.)

THF ASTRONOMICAL DATA OF THE PARIPĀḌAL

BY

K. G. SANKAR.

The earliest extant Tami<u>l</u> works are the so-called Saṅgham collections known as the *Eṭṭuttokai*, *Pattuppāṭṭu* and the *Patiṉeṇ-Kī<u>l</u>kkaṇakku*. The *Paripāḍal* is one of the *Eṭṭuttokai* and includes 24 poems set to music, by various authors and on various subjects. The 11th *Paripāḍal* is a poem on the river Vaiyai, composed by the poet Nallanduvaṉār. Apart from its considerable literary merits, it is of unique interest in that it enables us to fix the Saṅgham age accurately, by a careful consideration of its astronomical data. But, owing to difficulties of interpretation and calculation, all efforts to do so, including mine, have so far proved unsatisfactory, and scholars have therefore tacitly given it up as a hopeless task. Failing in a frontal attack, I have recently been trying flanking movements, and, after various trials and failures, I believe I have after all succeeded in solving the riddle, though the data I have now arrived at goes quite against the view I have urged in various papers regarding the Saṅgham age. The data are contained in the following opening lines of the poem:—

விரிகதிர் மதியமொடு வியல்விசும்பு புணர்ப்ப
வெரிசடை யெழில்வேழந் தலையெனக் கீழிருந்து
தெருவிடைப் படுத்தமூன் றொன்பதிற் றிருக்கையு
ளுருகெழு வெள்ளிவந் தேற்றியல் சேர
வருடையைப் படிமகன் வாய்ப்பப் பொருடெரி
புந்தி மிதுனம் பொருந்தப் புலர்விடிய
லங்கி யுயர்நிற்ப வந்தணன் பங்குவி
னில்லத் துணைக்குப்பா லெய்த விறையமன்
வில்லிற் கடைமகர மேவப்பாம் பொல்லை
மதிய மறைய வருநாளில் வாய்ந்த
பொதியின் முனிவன் புரைவரைக் கீறி
மிதுன மடைய விரிகதிர் வேனி
லெதிர் வரவு மாரி யியைகெனவிவ் வாற்றாற்
புரைகெழு சையம் பொழிமழை தாழ.

The meaning of the first three lines is not quite clear. The commentator Parimēla<u>l</u>akar interprets them to mean that the

heavens were divided into three *Vīthīs* named Meṣa, Ṛṣabha and Mithuna *Vīthīs*, each consisting of 9 *nakṣatras*. The Meṣa *Vīthī* is said to have comprised the 4 *rāśis* Ṛṣabha, Mithuna, Karkaṭaka and Siṁha; the Ṛṣabha *Vīthi* the 4 *rāśis*, Kanyā, Tulā, Mīna and Meṣa; and the Mithuna *Vīthi*, the remaining 4 *rāśis* Vṛścika, Dhanus, Makara and Kumbha. The three *Vīthis* and their component *rāśis* as stated here are also mentioned in the *Piṅgala-Nighaṇṭu*. But it is doubtful if the text can bear this interpretation. It is not certain that the conventional division into *vīthīs* dates back to such an early period. Again, Meṣa, Ṛṣabha and Mithuna are not mentioned by name, but are only said to be indicated by the words *Eri*, *Śaḍai* and *Vēḻam*. *Eri* means fire, and therefore indicates Kṛttikā, whose presiding deity is Agni, and, through Kṛttikā, Ṛṣabha which includes $\frac{1}{4}$ Kṛttikā. The equation *eri*=fire=Agni=Kṛttikā=Ṛṣabha, seems rather far-fetched; and it is not clear why Ṛṣabha is not indicated by Rohiṇī, the whole of which is in Ṛṣabha, rather than by Kṛttikā, part of which is in Meṣa. In the same way *Śaḍai* is said to indicate Mithuna, through Ārdrā, whose deity is Rudra, the god with *śaḍai;* and *Vēḻam* Meṣa, through Bharaṇī, whose *yoni* is *Vēḻam* (elephant). In a previous paper, I contended that the passage indicates the *asterisms* rather than the *nakṣatra* segments of Kṛttikā, Ārdrā and Revatī or Bharaṇī (both have for *yoni* the elephant) to be located in Ṛṣabha, Mithuna and Meṣa *rāśis*, and deduced therefrom some chronological limits for the present poem. But now I am not sure that Parimēlaḻakar has interpreted these three lines correctly. They seem to mean only "in the heavens which have been spaced out into 27 mansions named *eri*, *śaḍai*, *vēḻam*, etc., (whatever the *nakṣatras* they indicate) for the bright moon to rest"; and it is therefore unsafe to draw any chronological inferences from a passage of such doubtful import.

Supposing, however, that Parimēlaḻakar's interpretation is correct, let us see to what inferences it leads us. The asterisms Kṛttikā, Ārdrā and Revatī or Bharaṇi would be in Ṛṣabha (30° to 60°), Mithuna (60° to 90°) and Meṣa (0° to 30°), the *Yogatārā* of Revatī is identified with 6 Piscium, whose longitude in 1690 A. C. was, according to Flamsteed's *Catalogus Brittanicus*, 15°32′. If therefore by *Vēḻam* we mean Revatī, it could not have been in Meṣa before $1690—(15+\frac{32}{60}\times 72)=572$ A. C. as the rate of precession is 1° for every 72 years. If on the other hand

by *Vēḻam* we mean Bharaṇī which is identified with 35 Arietis (42°36′ in 1690 A. C.) or with 41 Arietis (43° 52′ in 1690 A. C.), it was in Meṣa from 1690—$(43+\frac{52}{60} \times 72)$=1470 B. C. to 1690-$(12+\frac{36}{60} \times 72)$=773 A. C. This period of 2242 years (1470 B. C. to 773 A. C.) is however too wide for our purpose. But Kṛttikā and Ārdrā will help us to define the limits more closely. The *yogatārā* of Kṛttikā is identified with Alcyone (55°-40′ in 1690 A. C.); and it could not have been in Ṛṣabha before 1690—25·40/60 × 72=159 B. C. The *yogatārā* of Ārdrā is identified with Orionis (84·24° in 1690 A. C.) or with 135 Tauri (83·20° in 1690 A. C.); and it could not have been in Mithuna before 1690—24.25/60 × 72=69 B. C. Combining the inferences from the location of Revatī or Bharaṇī Kṛttikā and Ārdrā in Meṣa, Ṛṣabha and Mithuna respectively, we may conclude that the 11th *Paripāḍal* dates batween 69 B. C. and 773 A. C. But this does not take us beyond the present state of our knowledge as to the limits (*C.* 1 to 700 A. C.) of the Saṅgham age. For, on the one hand, the reference to Gajabāhu in the *Śilappadikāram* indicates that the Saṅgham age cannot be dated before the 1st Century A. C.; and, on the other hand, it is certain that *C.* 700 A. C. is the later limit, as, according to the bigger Ciṉṉamaṉūr plates, the Saṅgham was founded and the victory at Talai-y-ālaṅkāṉam, famed in the Saṅgham works, was won by ancestors of Māṟavarmaṉ Arikēsarī. It may also be pointed out that, according to Parimēlaḻakar, the *nakṣatras* were not Kṛttikādi, as in that case Revatī or Bharaṇī should be in Mīna, not Meṣa. It should also be noted that the rate of precession has been here assumed to be 1° for every 72 years, and not, as suggested by Mr. L. D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, 1° for every 60 or 61 years, as the longitudes given by Flamsteed are tropical, and there is no evidence to show that sidereal longitudes were used in India before the time of Āryabhaṭa (*C.* 500 A. C.).

We are then told that Venus was in Ṛṣabha (30° to 60°) Mars in Meṣa (0° to 30°), and Mercury in Mithuna (60° to 90°) and that the time was day-break. Then we have the phrase *aṅgi uyar nṛpa*. Parimēlaḻakar says this means that Kṛttikā was in the Zenith. If this is correct, the Sun must have been in 90°+39° (true longitude of Kṛttikā)=129°, and Venus and Mercury, whose maximum distances from the Sun are 48° and 26°, cannot have longitudes less than 81° and 103°, which are at least 21° and 13° beyond the required positions. It has therefore been con-

tended that *uyar* cannot mean " Zenith ", but only " visibly high up ". As sgainst this, it may be urged that in a purely astronomical passage like this, it would be more reasonable to interpret *uyar* in its technical sense of *ucca*, and that, if Kṛttikā was not in the Zenith, there is no reason for its being mentioned in this passage, and there would be no indication of the Sun's position, while all the other planets are correctly located. We have, therefore, to accept the Sun's longitude as 129° and find out ways of reconciling this with the positions given for Venus and Mercury. One alternative would be to take the positions given in this passage for all the planets as their mean positions. But while the mean positions of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn do not vary greatly from their true ones, the true positions of Mercury and Venus depend more on the position of the Sun rather than on their own mean positions, which vary so considerably from their true ones, as to give an altogether incorrect idea of their location. Besides, I have made careful calculations by mean motions of the planets, and could not get a single date to suit the given data between C. 1 and 700 A .C. This alternative therefore must be given up. The only other explanation that I can think of for the discrepancy is that in the early times in which the *Paripāḍal* was composed, the Hindus had not yet succeeded in calculating correctly the true motions of the minor planets Venus and Mercury, whose daily mean motions are 1· 6 and 4· 1 respectively, and that in calculating suitable dates for the astronomical data of the 11th *Paripāḍal*, we may practically ignore the positions of Venus and Mercury given in the text.

It may be asked whether, in view of the discrepancy noted here, we should not rather discard the given data as purely fictitious or conventional. I do not think so. For, I have not found these same positions given in the *Bṛhat-Jātaka* or other astrological works among the conventional conjunctions for heavy showers. Neither can they be fictitious, for, barring Venus and Mercury, they work out correctly, involve no astronomical anomalies, and the poet could have no object in stating purely fictitious data in such detail when they are not relevent to the main purpose of his poem. We have, therefore, no alternative but to take the data as genuine and perhaps copied from an almanac of those days, and seek for other explanations regarding the discrepancy pointed out, if the explanation I have offered is not deemed satisfactory.

Jupiter is said to be beyond the two houses of Saturn, that is, in Mīna (330° to 0°). In Hindu astrology, each solar sign is said to have a planet for its lord, and the lord of Makara and Kumbha is Saturn. This reference to the two houses of Saturn shows that the poet was acquainted with Hindu astrology, as the mention of Mithuna and Makara by their Sanskrit names also indicates. Saturn is said to be in *villir̲ Kaḍai Makara.* This may be taken to mean " In Makara, next to Dhanus *(villir̲ku-aḍai)*", or " in the last quarter of Dhanus (*villil-Kaḍai*) and Makara". If the former meeting is correct, Saturn was in Makara (270° to 300°) as Parimēlal̲akar construes. If the latter meaning is preferred, Saturn was in the junction point of Dhanus and Makara, that is, exactly 260°, or at least its longitude was not less than 270°—7°30′=262°30′, the beginning of the last quarter of Dhanus. In any case, Saturn cannot have been 13° distant from the beginning of Makara, as it would have to be in Mr. L. D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's dates for the *Paripāḍal* (16th June 634 A.C.). It may be pointed out that, according to Hindu astrology, all the planets are here said to be located in their *svakṣetras* (own houses), though such a grouping is not said to have any astrological significance, so far as I have been able to find out from the astrological works accessible to me.

Then we have the words *pāmbollai madiya mar̲aiyavaru nāḷil.* They naturally mean that a lunar eclipse was shortly expected, " on a day when the serpent was quickly coming to obscure the moon ", though it is possible to take them to mean that the moon set in the region of Āśleṣā (the asterism of Sarpa). But the use of the word *varu* and the absence of the locative suffix in *pāmbu* decide us in favour of the former interpretation. Agastya (Canopus) is then said to have reached Mithuna (60° to 90°), breaking forth from his high place, but he is not said to have become visible.

The chronological significance of this reference to Agastya has been completely missed by all scholars who have hitherto dealt with this problem. I have been at some pains to study the position and motion of Agastya, as I felt that here was a clue which might lead to a discovery of the true date of the *Paripāḍal.* Flamsteed gives us the longitude of Canopus in 1690 A. C. as 100°46′. Its position therefore at the beginning of the Christian era, was in 100°46′—1690°/72=77°18′, and in 700 A. C. its longitude was 77°18′+700·/72=87°1′. The present *Sūryasiddhānta*

(10th Century A. C.) gives its longitude as 90°, which it would have attained in 700+(2°59′ × 72)=915 A. C. Thus it is clear that from 1 A. C. to 700 A. C., Agastya was always in Mithuna. What then does the *Paripāḍal* mean by saying that on a particular day Agastya *reached* Mithuna, breaking forth from its high place? The meaning can only be that the heliacal rising, not the *visible rising*, of Canopus occurred on that particular day. John Bentley (*Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy*, 1825, pp. 162-3) has explained clearly how to determine the day on which the heliacal rising of Canopus occurs at Ujjain. It is, therefore, worth quoting here. "Take a celestial globe, in which the stars are correctly laid down, and rectify it for the latitude of Ujjain 23°11′ N., bring the star Canopus to the eastern horizon, and mark the point on the ecliptic then in the horizon, with its distance from some fixed star east or west of it, lying in or near the ecliptic; this will be cosmical point, and its longitude in the Hindu sphere, will be known from its distance in degrees east or west of the star. Measure 10½° towards the east, perpendicular to the horizon, and mark the point where it falls on the ecliptic, in respect to its distance east or west of some fixed star whose longitude is given in the Hindu sphere, this will be the heliacal point, and its longitude in the Hindu sphere will be known from its distance east or west of the star. Thus, the globe being rectified for the latitude, and the star Canopus brought to the eastern horizon, the point of the ecliptic then on the horizon will be found to be about 10°56′ west of Regulus (Maghā), whose longitude in the Hindu sphere is 4^s-9°; consequently the longitude of the cosmical point in the Hindu sphere is 4^s-9°—10°56′=3^s-28°4′; now measuring 10½° perpendicular to the horizon towards the east, as directed, the point will fall on the ecliptic about 20° to the west of Regulus; therefore the longitude of this point in the Hindu sphere is 4^s-9°—0°20′=4^s-8°—40′, to which the sun must *invariably* come at the heliacal rising of Canopus at Ujjain. The Hindu sphere being sidereal, and consequently fixed, the cosmical and heliacal points thus shown, are also nearly fixed, they were so in the time of Varāha, and they are the same now. But it is far otherwise, in the moveable or tropical sphere, in which the variation is considerable, the longitude of the cosmical and heliacal points increasing as the time is more modern". From the above, it will be seen that the heliacal rising of Canopus takes place *invariably*, when the Sun's longitude is 128°40′. We can arrive at the same result by the methods of Hindu astro-

nomy. The rule on the subject as given by Varāhamihira (*Pañca-Siddhāntikā*, Ch. 14, st. 39-40) is:—Multiply 25 by ½ the equinoctial shadow; take the corresponding arc, add 15, multiply by 10 and add 21 times the equinoctial shadow; the result are the *vināḍis*, by which calculate the *lagna* from the beginning of Karkaṭaka; when the Sun stands at that point, Agastya becomes *visible* in the south. Calculating by this method, Varāha arrives at 143° as the Sun's longitude, when Agastya becomes *visible*.

(संख्याविधानात् प्रतिदेशमस्य विज्ञाय संदर्शनमादिशेज्ज्ञः ।
तच्चोज्जयिन्यामगतस्य कन्यां भागैः स्वराख्यैः स्फुटभास्करस्य ॥
Bṛhat-Saṁhitā, ch. 12, st. 14)

From the rule given by him, it is seen that the distance of visibility is 15°; so that, according to Varāha, the heliacal rising of Canopus took place, when the sun's longitude was 143°—150° = 128°. which is almost the same as that given by Bentley. The sun's longitude (129°) given by the words *aṅgi uyar nṛpa* is thus seen to be confirmed by the mention of the heliacal rising of Canopus.

The closing lines state that heavy showers fell on the high Sahya Mountain in accordance with the custom that the rains come after late summer. Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai has understood this to mean that the rainy season has just begun, and therefore takes the time of the occurance to be about the 90th solar day. But that this was not the author's meaning will be clear from the position of the sun as stated by him, and from his reference to the heliacal rising of Agastya. Varāha says that the waters become clear at the heliacal rising of Agastya (उदये च मुनेरगस्त्यनाम्नः पुनरम्बूनि भवन्ति निर्मलानि । *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, Ch. 12, St. 7); and Varāha's statement is confirmed by Kālidāsa (प्रससादोदयादम्भः कुम्भयोनेर्महौजसः—*Raghu-vaṁśa*, iv, 21). Mallinātha, in his commentary on the *Raghu-vaṁśa*, also says:—'अगस्त्योदये जलानि प्रसीदन्ति' इत्यागमः । The waters become clear only about one month after the rains have begun. For this reason also, the solar day must be long after the 90th preferred by Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai. We may, therefore, take it as certain that the sun's longitude was 129°, and the solar day was consequently the 135th.

The required actual positions of the major planets are:—Mars 0° to 30°, Jupiter 330° to 0°, and Saturn 270° to 300°. Their corresponding mean longitudes on the 135th solar day are:—Mars 325° to 341°, Jupiter 328° to 351° and Saturn 278° to 308°. The mean positions of these planets on the 135th solar day of

I.B.C. were:—Mars 325°, Jupiter 174° and Saturn 75°. The required increases in their mean longitudes are therefore:—Mars 0° to 16°, Jupiter 154° to 177° and Saturn 203° to 233°. Calculating with the tables in Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. 1, Pt. 1) for the years between 1 A. C. and 700 A. C. these increases are found in only one year 17 A. C, Mars 14°, Jupiter 156° and Saturn 208°. In 17 A. C. the Śrāvaṇa Paurṇami fell on the 27th July, and the *tithi* ended 7 hours and 12 minutes after mean sunrise, that is, about 1-12 P. M. The solar month of Āvaṇi began in that year on the 18th July, and 27th July was therefore the 10th Āvaṇi and 135th solar day. The sun's longitude was *exactly* 129°, as required by the text, and the longitude of Rāhu was 315°. The distance of the sun from the node was thus 174°; and a lunar eclipse was, therefore, certain to have occurred on that day. The sun's longitude being 129°, the heliacal rising of Agastya must have also occurred on the same day. In fact the cioncidence of lunar eclipse and Agastyodaya on the same day is very unique, and it actually took place in 17 A. C. as required by the text. On the 27th July 17 A. C. at day-break, the true longitude of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were respectively 28°, 332° and 274°, that is, they were all exactly in their required positions. But the true longitudes of Venus and Mercury at the time were 90° and 156°, *i.e.*, 30° and 66° in advance of the required positions. The truth seems to be, as I have suggested, that the poet could not get the true positions of Venus and Mercury, as the Hindus at that period had not yet learned to calculate them correctly. But, finding that the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were all in their own houses (*Svakṣetras*), he apparently supposed that Venus and Mercury were likewise in their own houses Ṛṣabha and Mithuna. In making this supposition he may possibly have been influenced by an astrological notion, for which I cannot find any authority at present, that the location of all the planets in their own houses is an indication of heavy rains. The poet was certainly aware of *Svakṣetras*, as he says that Jupiter was beyond the two houses of Saturn. It is thus seen that the 27th July 17 A. C. completely satisfies all the astronomically possible data of the text; and as no other date from 1 A. C. to 700 A. C. suits the given data even approximately, we have no option but to conclude that the 11th *Paripāḍal* was actually composed in 17 A. C., and that all dates for the Saṅgham age later than the early centuries of the Christian era must be given up.

॥ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता श्रीमद्भागवतं च ॥

वे. राघवः

वंशीगानसुधां निपीय पशवः प्रेमामृतं गोपिकाः
अद्वैतामृतमर्जुनो यदधरात् प्रापुः परां निर्वृतिम् ।
वेदं वेदविदश्च वित्तिमपि यत्पाति स्म तच्छ्यामलं
भेदौघावधि सामरस्यशिखरं धामाहमाराधये ॥ (ममैव)

योऽन्तः प्रविश्य मम वाचमिमां प्रसुप्तां
सञ्जीवयत्यखिलशक्तिधरः स्वधाम्ना ।
अन्यांश्च हस्तचरणश्रवणत्वगादीन्
प्राणान्नमो भगवते पुरुषाय तस्मै ॥ (भागवते ध्रुवस्तुतौ)

नमः सद्भ्यः सभ्येभ्यः सभापतिभ्यश्च । अतीव कृतज्ञोऽस्मि अद्य संस्कृतसेवासमितिनिर्वाहकसमितेः, यदद्य प्रवर्तमानायां भगवत्सेवायाम् अन्वेतुं ममापि लब्धोऽवकाशः । किं तु प्रौढैर्वाग्मिभिर्विद्वद्भिरेव निर्वोढुं शक्येऽस्मिन् कार्ये अन्तःकृष्यमाणजिह्वः कोऽप्यपूर्व एव अन्तर्वाणिरहं मूकमपि वाचालीकुर्वतीं भगवतो दयामालम्ब्य प्रवृत्तः,

'सिध्यन्ति कर्मसु महत्स्वपि यन्नियोज्याः
सम्भावनागुणमवेहि तमीश्वराणाम्' ।

इति कविसूक्तेः निदर्शनायमानः, यत्किञ्चिदद्य वदामि । 'कोणकोणकोविन्द' इति द्रविडाभाणकानुसारेण अनेनापि मदीयवाग्यज्ञेन असम्पन्नेनापि भगवान् सर्वात्मकः सर्वयज्ञभुक् प्रीयेतेति विश्वसिमि ।

वैयासिकिना शुकब्रह्मणा राज्ञे परीक्षिते, यथा परमात्मना भगवतैव प्रजापतये ब्रह्मणे गीतम्, तथैव गीतम्, अत एव 'भगवता प्रोक्तं भागवतम्' इति व्याख्यातृभिः निरुक्तं भागवतं नाम पुराणं मयि पठति, तदा

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* मद्रपुरीसंस्कृतसेवासमितिवार्षिकभगवद्गीतामहोत्सवावसरे उपन्यस्तोऽयं सन्दर्भः ।

तदा स्मृतिपथं आरुरुहुः भगवतैव स्वसुहृदे भक्ताय अर्जुनाय कुरुक्षेत्रे सङ्ग्राममुखे उपदिष्टाया गीताया अभिप्रायाः । तत्र तत्र तास्ताः भागवतीर्गीताः स्मारितोऽभवम् । इदं प्रत्यभाच्च, तत्र तत्र गीतासन्दर्भान् मनसि निधायैव भागवते तत्तन्निरूपितमिति । एवं च रुचिरेधते स्म भागवतपुराणे ; गीतानुसन्धानेन सह पठ्यमाने तस्मिन् पुराणे कोऽप्यपूर्व एवानुभवः समभूत् । तथानुभूतानंशान् कांश्चनात्र अभिरूपाणां भवतां पुरतः उपन्यसितुमिच्छामि ।

योगशास्त्रतया वर्ण्यमानासु गीतासु कर्मभक्तिज्ञानाख्यास्त्रयो योगाः प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । ताश्च गीता उपनिषदां सारतया वर्णिताः । तथैव अस्मिन् भागवतपुराणे च त्रयोऽपि योगाः सप्रपञ्चं निरूप्यन्ते ; भागवतं च ब्रह्मसूत्राणाम् अर्थतया वेदार्थतया च गरुडपुराणे वर्ण्यते ।

'नैष्कर्म्यमप्यच्युतभाववर्जितं न शोभते ज्ञानमलं निरञ्जनम् ।'

इत्यादिसन्दर्भैः उपक्रमे उपसंहारे च दृश्यमानैः, यद्यपि भागवतपुराणे कर्मज्ञानयोगापेक्षया भक्तेरेव पारम्यं प्रतिपादितम्, यद्यपि चेदं पुराणं भक्तिमालम्ब्य पृथक् प्रस्थानतया प्रवर्तितम्, तथापि भागवतवर्ण्यमानभक्तेः ज्ञानस्य कर्मणश्च नैव परस्परं विरोधः कोऽपि वर्तते । कर्मयोगिनः किं लक्षणम् ? भक्तो भागवतः कथं वर्तेत ? ज्ञानिनश्च किं स्वरूपम् ? इति बहुत्र भागवते निरूपितम् । तत्र नैतेषां त्रयाणामपि कोऽपि मिथो रूपभेदो गुणभेदो वा विलोक्यते । समुदितो योगरूप एक एव वर्तत इति मन्ये । यथा च गीतासु पञ्चमेऽध्याये—

'साङ्ख्ययोगौ पृथग्बालाः प्रवदन्ति न पण्डिताः ।'

'एकं साङ्ख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स पश्यति ।'

इत्युक्तम्, तथैवैकं कर्म, ज्ञानम्, भक्तिं च यः पश्यति, स पश्यति, स एव विपश्चित् । अत एव भागवतपुराणवस्तुसङ्ग्रहश्लोके च दृश्यते—

'यत्र ज्ञानविरागभक्तिसहितं नैष्कर्म्यमाविष्कृतम्'

इति । भागवते तृतीयस्कन्धे पञ्चविंशेऽध्याये (श्लो॰. १३, १४, १८,

२३, ४१) भगवदवतारभूतेन कपिलेन स्वमातुर्देवहूत्या ज्ञानोपदेशः क्रियते। तत्र च भगवता कपिलेन साङ्ख्यं भक्तिश्च पर्यायतया प्रयुज्येते।

'तत्त्वाम्नायं यत् प्रवदन्ति साङ्ख्यं
प्रोवाच वै भक्तिवितानयोगम्।' (३९)

इति। पुनश्चैवम् अत्रैव समन्वयः क्रियते भक्तिज्ञानयोः। आह भगवान् ब्रह्मणे—

'अहमात्मात्मनां धातः प्रेष्ठः सन् प्रेयसामपि।
अतो मयि रतिं कुर्याद्देहादिर्यत्कृते प्रियः॥' ३. ९. ४२.

भागवते प्रवर्तिता अत्युत्तमत्वेन च स्तुता भक्तिः कीदृशी? मातरं देवहूती-माह भगवान् कपिलः (३. २९. २१-२७):

'अहं सर्वेषु भूतेषु भूतात्मावस्थितः सदा
तमवज्ञाय मां मर्त्यः कुरुतेऽर्चाविडम्बनम्॥
यो मां सर्वेषु भूतेषु सन्तमात्मानमीश्वरम्।
हित्वार्चां भजते मौढ्याद्भस्मन्येव जुहोति सः॥
द्विषतः परकाये मां मानिनो भिन्नदर्शिनः।
भूतेषु बद्धवैरस्य न मनः शान्तिमृच्छति॥
अहमुच्चावचैर्द्रव्यैः क्रिययोत्पन्नयानघे।
नैव तुष्येऽर्चितोऽर्चायां भूतग्रामावमानिनः॥
अर्चायामर्चयेत्तावदीश्वरं मां स्वकर्मकृत्।
यावन्न वेद स्वहृदि सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थितम्॥
आत्मनश्च परस्यापि यः करोत्यन्तरोदरम्।
तस्य भिन्नदृशो मृत्युर्विदधे भयमुल्बणम्॥
अथ मां सर्वभूतेषु भूतात्मानं कृतालयम्।
अर्हयेद्दानमानाभ्यां मैत्र्याभिन्नेन चक्षुषा॥''

किं भक्तः उत ज्ञानी प्रह्लादः? अस्य विचारस्यैवात्र नावकशः। स चैवं वर्ण्यते (७. ४. ३१)—

'आत्मवत् सर्वभूतानां एकः प्रियसुहृत्तमः ।'
'नोद्विग्नचित्तो व्यसनेषु, निस्पृहः श्रुतेषु दृष्टेषु गुणेष्ववस्तुदृक् ।'

सर्वभूतान्तस्स्थं भगवन्तं बहुमानयन् भागवतो भवति, भक्तो भवति । इदमेव विभूतियोगस्य रहस्यम्, यत् कपिलेन देवहूत्यै प्रदर्श्यते—

'मनसैतानि भूतानि प्रणमेद्बहुमानयन् ।
ईश्वरो जीवकलया प्रविष्टो भगवानिति ॥' ३. २९. ३३.

एकादशे च स्कन्धे उद्धवप्रश्नानुरोधेन भगवता साधोर्लक्षणम्, मुक्तस्य स्वरूपम्, भागवतस्य गुणाश्च वर्ण्यन्ते । एतेषां परस्परं न केवलं नास्त्येव विरोधः, परं चास्ति सर्वप्रकारकः संवादः । गीतासु दृश्यमानेन स्थितप्रज्ञवर्णनेन च संवादो भूयसा भाति ।

मुक्तलक्षणं भागवते (११. ११)—

'इन्द्रियैरिन्द्रियार्थेषु गुणैरपि गुणेषु च ।
गृह्यमाणेष्वहंकुर्यान्न विद्वान् यस्त्वविक्रियः ॥

*   *   *

वैशारद्येक्षयासंगशितया छिन्नसंशयः ।
प्रतिबुद्ध इव स्वप्नान्नानात्वाद्विनिवर्तते ॥
यस्य स्युर्वीतसङ्कल्पाः प्राणेन्द्रियमनोधियाम् ।
वृत्तयः स विनिर्मुक्तो देहस्थोऽपि हि तद्गुणैः ॥
यस्यात्मा हिंस्यते हिंस्रैर्येन किञ्चिद्यदृच्छया ।
अर्च्यते वा क्वचित्तत्र न व्यतिक्रियते बुधः ॥
न स्तुवीत न निन्देत कुर्वतः साध्वसाधु वा ।
वदतो गुणदोषाभ्यां वर्जितः समदृङ्मुनिः ॥

*   *   *

मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि निरपेक्षः समाचर ।

*   *   *

मदर्थे धर्मकामार्थानाचरन् मदपाश्रयः ।
लभेत निश्चलां भक्तिं मय्युद्धव सनातने ॥"

अत्रैव साधुरेवं कृष्णेन लक्ष्यते—

"कृपालुरकृतद्रोहस्तितिक्षुः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
सत्यसारोऽनवद्यात्मा समः सर्वोपकारकः ॥
कामैरहतधीर्दान्तो मृदुः शुचिरकिञ्चनः ।
अनीहो मितभुक् शान्तः स्थिरो मच्छरणो मुनिः ॥
अप्रमत्तो गभीरात्मा धृतिमान् जितषड्गुणः ।
अमानी मानदः कल्पः मैत्रः कारुणिकः कविः ॥"

भागवतवर्णनं भागवते ११-२:

'सर्वभूतेषु यः पश्येद्भगवद्भावमात्मनः ।
भूतानि भगवत्यात्मन्येष भागवतोत्तमः ॥
गृहीत्वापीन्द्रियैरर्थान् यो न द्वेष्टि न हृष्यति ।
विष्णोर्मायामिदं पश्यन् स वै भागवतोत्तमः ॥
* * *
न कामकर्मबीजानां यस्य चेतसि संभवः ।
वासुदेवैकनिलयः स वै भागवतोत्तमः ॥
न यस्य जन्मकर्मभ्यां न वर्णाश्रमजातिभिः ।
सज्जतेऽस्मिन्नहंभावो देहे वै स हरेः प्रियः ॥
न यस्य स्वः पर इति वित्तेष्वात्मनि वा भिदा ।
सर्वभूतसमः शान्तः स वै भागवतोत्तमः ॥'

मुनिलक्षणं भागवते ११. ८. ५-६:

'मुनिः प्रसन्नगम्भीरो दुर्विगाह्यो दुरत्ययः ।
अनन्तपारो ह्यक्षोभ्यः स्तिमितोद इवार्णवः ॥
समृद्धकामो हीनो वा नारायणपरो मुनिः ।
नोत्सर्पेत न शुष्येत सरिद्भिरिव सागरः ॥'

गीतासु च योगीति, भक्त इति, स्थितप्रज्ञ इति तत्र तत्र यानि वर्णनानि वर्तन्ते, तैः सहामीषां संवादः स्फुट एव सहृदयानाम् । यतो नास्त्येव कोऽपि विरोधो भक्तिज्ञानयोः, तत एव भागवतवस्तुसङ्ग्रहश्लोके च द्वितीयपादे गीयते—

"यस्मिन् पारमहंस्यमेकममलं ज्ञानं परं गीयते" इति ।

(१) इतश्च—भागवतं नाम पुराणं भगवता कृष्णद्वैपायनेन पुराणान्तरेषु तृप्तिमलभमानेन, विशिष्य भगवन्तमेकमेव नायकतयावलम्ब्य, तद्गुणवर्णनैकलोभेन, तस्य भगवतो विचित्राणि दिव्यानि यानि जन्मानि कर्माणि च तान्यनुसन्धातुमनुभवितुं च सन्दब्धम् ।

'यस्यावतारो भूतानां क्षेमाय च भवाय च ।'
'अथाख्याहि हरेर्धीमन्नवतारकथाः शुभाः ।
लीला विदधतः स्वैरमीश्वरस्यात्ममायया ॥' १. १. १८.
'अवतारा ह्यसंख्येया हरेः सत्त्वनिधेर्द्विजाः ।' १. ३. २६.
'जन्मकर्माभिधानानि सन्ति मेऽङ्ग सहस्रशः ।
न शक्यतेऽनुसन्धातुमनन्तत्वान्मयापि हि ॥
क्वचिद्रजांसि विममे पार्थिवान्युरुजन्मभिः ।
गुणकर्माभिधानानि न मे जन्मानि कर्हिचित् ॥'

१०. उत्तर०. १. ३७-३८.

'ऋषयो मनवो देवा मनुपुत्रा महौजसः ।
कलास्सर्वे हरेरेव सप्रजापतयस्तथा ॥' १. ३. २७.

इति विष्णोर्वीर्याणि प्रवक्तुमेव प्रारभत । एवं च सर्वमेवैतद्भागवतपुराणं विभूतियोगाध्यायस्य विस्तरः । गीतासु चतुर्थेऽध्याये—

'अपरं भवतो जन्म परं जन्म विवस्वतः ।
कथमेतद्विजानीयां त्वमादौ प्रोक्तवानिति ॥'

इत्यर्जुनप्रश्नस्योत्तरभूतानाम्

'बहूनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि— ।'
'अजोऽपि सन्नव्ययात्मा भूतानामीश्वरोऽपि सन् ।
प्रकृतिं स्वामधिष्ठाय संभवाम्यात्ममायया ॥'
'यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य०' 'परित्राणाय साधूनाम् ०'
'जन्म कर्म च मे दिव्यमेवं यो वेत्ति तत्त्वतः' ।

इत्यादि गीतानां सूत्रभूतानां मन्ये भाष्यमिव भागवतं नाम पुराणम् ।

(२) गीतास्वष्टमेऽध्याये अभ्यासयोगनामक इदमुच्यते—

'प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन भक्त्या युक्तो योगबलेन चैव ।
भ्रुवोर्मध्ये प्राणमावेश्य सम्यक् स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥' १०.

'अन्तकाले च मामेम स्मरन् मुक्त्वा कलेबरम् ।
यः प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥
यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेबरम् ।
तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावभावितः ॥' ४-५. इति ।

अयमेवाभिप्रायो भागवतपुराणावतारमूलभूततया वर्तते । अमुमेवाशयमुररीकृत्य शुकब्रह्मणा सर्पदंशेन सन्निहितमृत्योः परीक्षितो भगवत्कथाः भगवत्स्वरूपगुणकर्माणि च गीतानि भागवतपुराणरूपेण । मरिष्यन्तं परीक्षितं तमभ्यागतः शुकाचार्यः कथयति—

'जन्मलाभः परः पुंसामन्ते नारायणस्मृतिः ।' २. १. ६.
अस्मिन्नेवाध्याये (२. १.) अयं विषयः विस्तरेण निरूप्यते ।

'प्रयाणकाले च कथं ज्ञेयोऽसि नियतात्मभिः ।'
इत्यर्जुनप्रश्नस्याष्टमेऽध्याये गीतासु सङ्ग्रहेणोत्तरं वर्तते । अत्र तु भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धप्रथमद्वितीयाध्याययोर्विस्तरेणोत्तरं वर्तते । द्वितीयाध्यायान्ते च 'एते सृती ते नृप वेदगीते' इत्यारभ्य, 'नैते सृती पार्थ जानन् योगी मुह्यति कश्चन' इति गीताष्टमाध्यायान्ते वर्णिते देवयानपितृयाने भागवते प्रपञ्च्येते । सप्तमस्कन्धे च पञ्चदशाध्याये प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्ती, आवृत्त्यनावृत्ती, पितृयानदेवयाने च पुनश्च निरूपिते दृश्येते । अस्मिन्नष्टम एवाध्याये गीताचार्येण यदुक्तम्—

'आब्रह्मभुवनाल्लोकाः पुनरावर्तिनोऽर्जुन ।
मामुपेत्य तु कौन्तेय पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥' (१६)

इति । तदेवेत्थं प्रतिध्वनिरिव भागवते श्रूयते—

'कर्मणां परिणामित्वादाविरिञ्चादमङ्गलम् ।
विपश्चिन्नश्वरं पश्येददृष्टमपि दृष्टवत् ॥' ११. १९. १८.

इति । 'प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन' इति श्लोके यदर्जुनाय भगवताभ्यधायि

तदेवोद्धवेन कृष्णविरहसन्तप्यमानाभ्यो गोपिकाभ्योऽभिधीयते, दशमे, पूर्वार्धे, ४६ अध्याये—

'यस्मिन् जनः प्राणवियोगकले क्षणं समावेश्य मनो विशुद्धम् ।
निर्हृत्य कर्माशयमाशु याति परां गतिं ब्रह्ममयोऽर्कवर्णः ॥'

(३). युद्धपराङ्मुखाय निर्विण्णायार्जुनाय दिव्यं ज्ञानं दत्त्वा भगवान् तं योद्धुं नियोजयति । तदेव दिव्यं ज्ञानं दत्त्वा भागवते चतुर्थे स्कन्धे (अध्या० २०) राजानं पृथुमिन्द्रं माभिषेणयेति निवारयति ।

कथं पितृभिः पितामहैः गुरुभिः बन्धुभिः सह युध्यताम् इत्येक एव धर्मसंमोहो गीताभिः विचार्य निराक्रियते । भागवते तु तद्रीत्यैव मनुष्यस्य अस्मिन् संसारे यावन्तो यादृशाः कृच्छ्रा मनोधैर्यलुण्टाकाः मोहकलिलोत्पादका अनुभवा भवेयुः तावतः सर्वानपि विविधासु कथासु निरूप्य सर्वेषु व्यसनेषु च धर्म्यः क्षेमाय कल्पमानश्च पन्थाः निरूप्यते । प्रियपुत्रमरणम्, शापः, प्रियविरहः, स्वमरणं इत्याद्यवसरेषु मुह्यमानस्य तप्यमानस्य पुंसो मनश्शमो यथा जायेत, तथा भगावते अनेकैः सन्दर्भैरुपदिश्यते ।

दिव्यं ज्ञानं च प्रत्यध्यायं तत्तदवसरानुसारेण तत्तदधिकारिणे दीयते—द्वितीये स्कन्धे भगवानेव ब्रह्मण उपदिशति । तृतीये कपिलो देवहूत्यै । चतुर्थे भगवानेव राज्ञे पृथवे । चतुर्थ एव प्राचीनबर्हिषः कुमारेभ्यो रुद्रः । तत्रैव प्राचीनबर्हिष एव ज्ञानात् कर्म अवरमिति ज्ञानपारम्यमुपदिश्यते । पञ्चमे ब्रह्मा प्रियव्रताय प्रियव्रतसदृशज्ञानिनो गृहाश्रमो नैव बन्धाय कल्पेतेति कर्मयोगं कथयति । पञ्चम एव ऋषभस्वरूपेण अवतीर्य भगवान् ज्ञानमार्गं विशदयति, आचरणेन, उपदेशेन च । तदनन्तरं च जडभरतवृत्तान्तः, यत्र च ज्ञानयोगः पूर्णतया प्रतिपादितः । राज्ञे रहूगणायात्रैव जडभरतो ज्ञानमुपादिशति । षष्ठे च वृत्रवृत्तान्तः सर्व एव सारभूतः स्वदते नितराम् । पुत्रमरणदुःखकार्पण्येन लालप्यमानं चित्रकेतुमत्र नारदोऽङ्गिराश्च समवस्थापयतो ज्ञानोपदेशेन । कामकर्म त्यक्तव्यम्, आनुश्रविके दृष्टे च ज्ञानप्रतिष्ठेन विरज्य परात्मैकदर्शनं लब्धव्यम् इति

अस्मिन्नेव स्कन्धे भगवतैव चित्रकेतवे प्रतिपाद्यते। पार्वत्या शापे दत्ते, ज्ञानिना सता चित्रकेतुना अतिरमणीया वाच उत्तरत्वेन दत्ताः। किञ्चिदपि अनसूयेन अकुपितेन अदुःखितेन मनसा चित्रकेतुना शापः प्रतिगृह्यते। सप्तमे च शिशुपालकथाव्याजेन वैषम्यनैर्घृण्यशङ्कानिरासपूर्वकं जगति वर्तमानो जीवेषु दृश्यमानः असाधुभावः कुत इति निर्धार्यते। अस्मिन्नेव सप्तमे प्रह्लादेन सब्रह्मचारिभ्यः तत्त्वोपदेशः क्रियते—

'तस्मात् सर्वेषु भूतेषु दयां कुरुत सौहृदम्।
आसुरं भावमुन्मुच्य यथा तुष्यत्यधोक्षजः॥' इति।

ततः परम् अजगरमुनिना परमहंसलक्षणं सप्तम एव वर्ण्यते। गृहस्थः सन् स्वकर्म कुर्वन् कथं पुमान् मुच्येतेति निश्चीयते चात्रैव चतुर्दशाध्याये। दशमे च विरहातुराभ्यो गोपिकाभ्यः आश्वासकं ज्ञानं सन्देशतया प्रेष्यते। उत्तरार्धे च भगवान् कृष्ण एव गोपीभ्यः अध्यात्मशिक्षां ददाति। एकादशस्कन्धः सर्व एव विस्तरेण त्रिविधमपि योगं प्रपञ्चयति। एतेषु चान्येषु स्थलेषु श्रीमति भागवते गीतागूढार्थतात्पर्यविवरणभूताः बहवोऽर्थाः प्रकटिताः।

इतश्च (अ) गीतासु वर्णितो यो विश्वरूपः, स सुविस्तरवर्णितो दृश्यते भागवते प्रथमे स्कन्धे तृतीयाध्याये—

'यस्यावयवसंस्थानैः कल्पितो लोकविस्तरः।
*　　　*　　　*
पश्यन्त्यदो रूपमदभ्रचक्षुषा
　सहस्रपादोरुभुजाननाद्भुतम्।
सहस्रमूर्धश्रवणाक्षिनासिकं
　सहस्रमौल्यम्बरकुण्डलोल्लसत्॥
एतन्नानावताराणां निदानं बीजमव्ययम्।
यस्यांशांशेन सृज्यन्ते देवतिर्यङ्नरादयः॥' इति।

(आ) प्रह्लादकथायां च, 'अच्छेद्योऽयमदाह्योऽयम्' इत्यादिगीतावाक्येषु गीयमानब्रह्ममहिमैव, पर्वतात् पातितोऽपि, दग्धोऽपि, इतरथा च

हिंसितोऽपि न रोम्ण्यपि विकृतिमनुबभूव प्रह्लाद इति कथाशैल्या वर्ण्यते। 'नित्यः सर्वगतः आत्मा' इति निरूपणायैव अत्र स्तम्भादपि परमात्मस्वरूपम् आविर्भावितं कथारूपेण ॥

(इ) मया हता इमे बान्धवा मरिष्यन्ति इति कृपालुमनुत्साहिनम् अर्जुनं येन ज्ञानेन युध्यस्वेति बोधयति भगवान् गीतासु, तेनैव भगवान् शुकश्च सर्पदंशेन स्वयं मरिष्यन्तं परीक्षितं बोधयति—

'त्वं तु राजन् मरिष्येति पशुबुद्धिमिमां जहि।
न जातः प्रागभूतोऽद्य देहवत्त्वं न नङ्क्ष्यसि ॥
न भविष्यसि भूत्वा त्वं पुत्रपौत्रादिरूपवान्।
* * *
घटे भिन्ने यथाकाश आकाशः स्याद्यथापुरा।
एवं देहे मृते जीवो ब्रह्म संपद्यते पुनः ॥
* * *
मृत्यवो नोपधक्ष्यन्ति मृत्यूनां मृत्युमीश्वरम्।
अहं ब्रह्म परं धाम ब्रह्माहं परमं पदम् ॥
एवं समीक्षन्नात्मानमात्मन्याधाय निष्कले।
दशन्तं तक्षकं पादे लेलिहानं विषाननैः।
न द्रक्ष्यसि शरीरं च विश्वं च पृथगात्मनः ॥' १२. ५.

इति।

(ई) गीतासु नवमेऽध्याये इदं दृश्यते—
'तपाम्यहमहं वर्षं निगृह्णाम्युत्सृजामि च।
अमृतं चैव मृत्युश्च सदसच्चाहमर्जुन ॥' १९.

अस्य तत्त्वस्य विस्तरो भागवते वृत्रासुरवृत्तान्ते शिशुपालकथारम्भे च दृश्यते। षष्ठे स्कन्धे वृत्रेण सङ्ग्राममुखे, 'अवशः अनीशो जीवः, अतः सुखे दुःखे च समत्वं श्रेयः' इति युयुत्सुरागत इन्द्र उच्यते। उमया च दत्ते शापे तेन वृत्रेणेदमुच्यते—

'प्रतिगृह्णामि ते शापं आत्मनोऽञ्जलिनाम्बिके।
कर्तारं मन्यतेऽप्राज्ञ आत्मानं परमेव च ॥

गुणप्रवाह एतस्मिन् कः शापः को न्वनुग्रहः ।
कः स्वर्गो नरकः को वा किं सुखं दुःखमेव वा ॥
एकः सृजति भूतानि भगवानात्ममायया ।
एषां बन्धं च मोक्षं च सुखं दुःखं च निष्कलः ॥
न तस्य कश्चिद्दयितः प्रतीपो न ज्ञातिबन्धुर्न परो न च स्वः ।
समस्य सर्वत्र निरञ्जनस्य सुखे न रागः, कुत एव रोषः ॥' ७. २१.

एवं च ज्ञानिनः तत्त्वावलोकिनः स्वात्मानं पीडयति कस्मिंश्चिदपि कोप एव न भवेत् । तस्य नास्त्येव हृदयतापः स्वविपत्तिमन्तरा ॥

किञ्च शब्दतश्च संवादा अनेके गीताभागवतयोर्वर्तन्ते ।—

१. गी० 'प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे ।' २. ११.

भा०. 'अकोविदः केविदवादवादान् वदस्यथो नातिविदां वरिष्ठः । न सूरयो हि व्यवहारमेनं तत्त्वावमर्शेन सहामनन्ति ॥' १. ५. ११.
इति रहूगणाय राज्ञे जडभरतस्य उक्तिरियम् ।

२. गी० 'यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥' २. ४२.

भागवते पञ्चमे जडभरत एवमाह रहूगणम्—

'तथैव राजन्नुरुगार्हमेधवितानविद्योरुविजृम्भितेषु ।
न वेदवादेषु हि तत्त्ववादः प्रायेण शुद्धो नु चकास्ति साधुः' ॥
५. ११. २.

षष्ठे यमेनैवमुच्यते—

'प्रायेण वेद तदिदं न महाजनोऽयं
देव्या विमोहितमतिर्बत माययालम् ।
त्रय्यां जडीकृतमतिर्मधुपुष्पितायां
वैतानिके महति कर्मणि युज्यमानः ॥' ६. ३. २५.

एकादशे एकविंशेऽध्याये पुनश्चायमेवाभिप्रायः प्रपञ्च्यते ।

३. गी०. 'नेहाभिक्रमनाशोऽस्ति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते ।' २.४०.

एतत् प्रतिध्वनयन्निव उद्धवं भगवान् कृष्ण आह एकादशे—

'न ह्यङ्गोपक्रमध्वंसो मद्धर्मस्योद्धवाण्वपि ।' ११. २९. २०.

४. गी०. २. ४५: त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन ।
भा०. पञ्चमे जडभरत आह—
'गुणानुरक्तं व्यसनाय जन्तोः
क्षेमाय नैर्गुण्यमथो मनः स्यात् ।'
५. गी०. २. ६०: इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्ति प्रसभं मनः ।
भा०.७.१२.७: इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्त्यपि यतेर्मनः ।
६. गी०. २. ६२: ध्यायतो विषयान् पुंसः संगस्तेषूपजायते ।
संगात् सञ्जायते कामः कामात् क्रोधोऽभिजायते ॥
क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः संमोहात् स्मृतिविभ्रमः ।
भा०.११.२१.१९-२०: संगात्तत्र भवेत्कामः कामदेव कलिर्नृणाम् ।
कलेर्दुर्विषहः क्रोधस्तमस्तमनुवर्तते ॥
तमसा ग्रस्यते पुंसश्चेतना व्यापिनी ध्रुवम् ॥
किञ्च भा०.११.१३.१०:ततः कामो गुणध्यानात् ।
७. गी०. २. ५७: इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।
तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नावमिवाम्भसि ॥
भा०. २२. ३०:इन्द्रियैर्विषयाकृष्टैराक्षिप्तं ध्यायतां मनः ।
चेतनां हरते बुद्धिः स्तम्बस्तोयमिव ह्रदात् ॥
८. गी०. ३. २८. गुणा गुणेषु वर्तन्ते इति मत्वा न सज्जते ।
,, १४. २३: गुणा वर्तन्त इत्येव योऽवतिष्ठति नेङ्गते ।
भागवते च एकादशे कृष्णेन उद्धवाय कथिते मुक्तलक्षणे दृश्यते—
'इन्द्रियैरिन्द्रियार्थेषु गुणैरपि गुणेषु च ।
गृह्यमाणेष्वहंकुर्यान्न विद्वान् यस्त्वविक्रियः ॥'
९. गी०. ३. ३०: मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि सन्न्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा ।
निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः ॥
भा०.११.२९.९: कुर्यात् सर्वाणि कर्माणि मदर्थं शनकैः स्मरन् ।
मय्यर्पितमनश्चित्तो मद्धर्मात्ममनोरतिः ॥
१०. गी०. ३. २७: प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः ।
अहंकारविमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ॥
भा०. ३. २७. २:स एष यर्हि प्रकृतेर्गुणेष्वभिविषज्जते ।
अहंक्रियाविमूढात्मा कर्तास्मीत्यभिमन्यते ॥

११. गी०. ४. १-३: स कालेनेह महता योगो नष्टः परन्तप ।
भा०. ११. १४·भगवानुद्धवमेवमाह—
कालेन नष्टा प्रलये वाणीयं वेदसंज्ञिता ।
मयादौ ब्रह्मणे प्रोक्ता धर्मो यस्यां मदात्मकः ॥
तेन प्रोक्ता च पुत्राय मनवे पूर्वजाय च । इत्यादि ।

१२. गी०. ४. ३३: श्रेयान् द्रव्यमयाद्यज्ञात् ज्ञानयज्ञः परन्तप । इति ज्ञानयज्ञः प्रशस्यते । ज्ञानयज्ञश्चैवं भागवते विश्वरूपम् अन्तर्यमुनं विलोक्य अक्रूरेण कृते स्तोत्रे वर्ण्यते—
एके त्वाखिलकर्माणि सन्न्यस्योपशमं गताः ।
ज्ञानिनो ज्ञानयज्ञेन यजन्ति ज्ञानविग्रहम् ॥

१३. गी०. ४. ३७: यथैधांसि समिद्धोऽग्निर्भस्मसात् कुरुतेऽर्जुन ।
ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात् कुरुते तथा ॥
भा०. ११. १४. १९: यथाग्निः सुसमिद्धार्चिः करोत्येधांसि भस्मसात् ।
तथा मद्विषया भक्तिरुद्धवैनांसि कृत्स्नशः ॥

१४. गीतासु पञ्चमेऽध्याये १८, १९ च श्लोके समत्वं नाम योग उच्यते—
विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥
इहैव तैर्जितः सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ।
निर्दोषं हि समं ब्रह्म तस्माद् ब्रह्मणि ते स्थिताः ॥

गीतास्वेव षष्ठे चाध्याये—
सुहृन्मित्रार्युदासीनमध्यस्थद्वेष्यबन्धुषु ।
साधुष्वपि च पापेषु समबुद्धिर्विशिष्यते ॥

भागवते तत्र तत्र अतिमनोहरैः सन्दर्भैरयं समत्वयोगो निरूप्यते । विशिष्य, एकादशे भगवदुद्धवसंवादे भगवानाह—
११. २९. १३-१६: मामेवं सर्वभूतेषु बहिरन्तरपावृतम् ।
ईक्षेतात्मनि चात्मानं यथा खममलाशयः ॥
इति सर्वाणि भूतानि मद्भावेन महाद्युते ।
सभाजयन् मन्यमानो ज्ञानं केवलमाश्रितः ॥
ब्राह्मणे पुल्कसे स्तेने ब्रह्मण्यर्के स्फुलिङ्गके ।
अक्रूरे क्रूरके चैव समदृक् पण्डितो मतः ॥

नरेष्वभीक्ष्णं मद्भावं पुंसो भावयतोऽचिरात् ।
स्पर्धासूयातिरस्काराः साहंकारा वियन्ति हि ॥
विसृज्य स्मयमानान् स्वान् दृशं व्रीडां च दैहिकीम् ।
प्रणमेद्दण्डवद्भूमौ आश्वचण्डालगोखरम् ॥

१५. गीतासु ५. २९. भगवानात्मानम्—
"सुहृदं सर्वभूतानाम्" "न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः"
इति वर्णयति ।

भागवते च ३. २९. ३९. कपिलो देवहूतीमाह—
न चास्य कश्चिद्दयितो न द्वेष्यो न च बान्धवः ।

पुनश्च ६. १८. ३३: न ह्यस्यास्ति प्रियः कश्चिन्नाप्रियः स्वः परोऽपि वा ।
आत्मत्वात् सर्वभूतानां सर्वभूतप्रियो हरिः ॥

(अनुवर्ति)

A NOTE ON AN INSCRIBED SEAL FROM PERAK.

BY

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

In the Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums Vol. XV, part 3 (1932), Mr. Ivor H. N. Evans, Ethnographer, F. M. S. Museums, reported the discovery of an inscribed Cornelian seal which he described as follows: 'It is a small seal of red Cornelian of good colour and somewhat translucent, chamfered at the edges on the face and there engraved with an inscription running the length of the seal in the middle. The dimensions of the piece are 1.4 cms. × 1 cm.×4 cm. The back is a flat.' The inscription reads *Śrī Viṣṇuvarmmasya* and the script is clearly of the class to which the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā, Borneo and W. Java belong. The letters are 'box-headed', and remarkably like those in the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of Campā. This script is usually called Pallava script after Vogel's well-known paper on the Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman. In spite of Professor R. C. Majumdar's attempt to fix a northern or central Indian origin for the early Campā script[1], I think the case is still strong for our continuing to use the designation brought into vogue by Vogel's careful examination of the whole question.

But while calling the script Pallava, we should be on our guard against postulating any direct connection, particularly of a political nature, between the areas where the script was in vogue and the line of South Indian rulers after whom the script is named. Mr. Evans writes "Dr. Callenfels remarks, in answer to a letter of mine in which I had pointed out that this name was borne by several Pallava kings. 'It is not necessary that the Viṣṇuvarman is a Pallava king. Kings and nobles in that time liked to have names ending in Varma, *i.e.*, the kings of Indo-China, Borneo, Java and Śrī-Vijaya. I think, however, that the *Śrī* certainly points to a king or a prince.' I had wondered, too, whether it might not be the ring of some commoner bearing an inscription with a talismanic significance". There is no one among the known kings of South India or the Malay Archipelago

1. BEFEO. xxxii, pp. 135 ff.

and Indo-China with the name Viṣṇu-Varma. And the faulty grammatical form of the name, Viṣṇuvarmmasya in the place of Viṣṇuvarmmaṇaḥ, may be taken to support the last surmise of Mr. Evans that it is the seal of a commoner, possibly a merchant. There is no lack of evidence to show that the artisans and traders of ancient times often affected the Sanskrit idiom and were not very mindful of classical grammar in the dialect they employed. One wonders why Mr. Evans suggests a talismanic significance for the inscription on the stone ? Is it because of the *Śrī* at the commencement ? But *Śrī* is at once an honorific prefix and a symbol of prosperity and is generally employed as a prefix to personal names. I am inclined to suggest that the ring which bore this inscribed Cornelian was just the signet ring of a merchant called Viṣṇuvarmma. The best opinion regarding the age of the seal puts it nearer the sixth century A. D. than the fourth, though the earlier date is not an impossibility[1].

I have had occasion elsewhere to draw attention to other evidence on trade relations between South India and the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal[2]. But such relations were by no means the monopoly of South India, and it may be doubted if a South Indian merchant would have used a signet engraved in these characters as we have so far not come across another instance of this kind. It is perhaps worth noting in this connection that among some ancient gems and seals noticed by Cunningham in 1841, we find a Chaceldonic agate from Ujjain inscribed in characters very similar to those of our seal[3]. The inscription was read by Prinsep as *Śrī Vati-Khuddasya*, Seal of Śrī Vati-Khudd. That reading is open to doubt at more than one point; I am inclined to read *Śrī Va (tikhu) ṇḍasya.* But the forms of the letters *Śrī*, *Va*, and *sya* bear the closest possible resemblances to those of the same letters in our seal. Viṣṇuvarmma then, if as we suppose he was a merchant, might have come from Central India, or he might have been one of the colonists belonging to the Hindu settlement of Kuala Selingsing in Perak whose long history from about 600 A. D., if not earlier, is attested by the remains brought to light by Mr. Evans.

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1. JFMS. *ibid*, p. 90.
2. JOR. vi, pp. 299 ff.
3. JASB. 1841, plate opp. p. 148, No. 19.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

BRHATI OF PRABHAKARA MISRA WITH THE ṚJU-VIMALA-PANCIKA OF ŚALIKANATHA: (TARKA-PADA). EDITED BY S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI, JUNIOR LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, 1934. Price Rs. 5. Foreign 8s.

The aphorisms of Jaimini are in 12 Chapters, which are divided into 60 sub-sections or *pādas* as they are called. The whole work, excepting the first *pāda* alone, deals with the principles of Vedic interpretation or with the details of sacrificial ritual; and its philosophic significance, where it has any, is quite indirect. The first sub-section, which is known as the *Tarka-pāda*, is solely devoted to a consideration of Mīmāṁsā epistemology; and it necessarily contains, by implication, a view of Mīmāṁsā ontology also. The practice of *paṇḍitas* has, for long, been to give much less attention to this section than its subject-matter seems to us to demand, and to be content with a study of only the remaining portions of the work. Even later commentators, as a rule, omit to explain it. This attitude of orthodox scholars towards the Mīmāṁsā as a philosophic doctrine is, however, far from unintelligible. They are staunch adherents of a different school of philosophy, *viz.*, the Vedānta which has its own definite world-view; and they naturally do not like to waste their time and energy in learning a system which, though claiming to be based on the Veda like the Vedānta, diverges from it in more than one essential respect. Their point of view only furnishes another proof of the well-known fact that the interest of the Indians in philosophy has never been merely theoretic. The sacrificial teaching of the Mīmāṁsā has not been disregarded in the same manner, because the performance of Vedic ritual is considered to be a necessary part of the training of a Vedāntin. Though this may explain the attitude of *paṇḍitas* towards Mīmāṁsā as a *darśana*, the neglect into which the study of the *Tarka-pāda* has, as a consequence, fallen for so long a time is unfortunate from the standpoint of the modern student who is interested in philosophic views as such or in the history of Indian thought as a whole. For it has led not only to a break in the traditional interpretation of the philo-

sophic side of the system but also to the loss or disappearance of much of the literature bearing upon it. The loss is far greater in the case of the Prābhākara school of Mīmāṁsā than in that of the Bhāṭṭa school, as will be seen from the fact that not more than two or three works belonging to it were hitherto familiarly known. It is the primary source of authority in regard to this school, *viz.*, Prabhākara's commentary on the *bhāṣya* of Śabara relating to the neglected *pāda* that is now published; and students of Indian philosophy cannot feel sufficiently grateful to the editor for having undertaken this important work and for having accomplished it so successfully.

The present volume includes, in addition to this commentary which is known as the *Bṛhatī*, the *Ṛju-vimalā-pañcikā*, a gloss on it by Śālikanātha who is reputed to have been Prabhākara's direct disciple. It also contains a reprint of the *sūtras* of Jaimini as well as the *bhāṣya* of Śabara; and the several texts and commentaries are given here concurrently so that reference to them is rendered quite easy. Prabhākara's style resembles that of old masters like Patañjali and Śabara, and is conversational in its form. Though the language is simple, it is often difficult to follow the argument couched in it; but Śālikanātha's gloss, together with the careful punctuation introduced by the editor, greatly assists the understanding of the work. The amount of resolute labour required for editing such difficult works from old manuscripts is always great; and it should have been considerably greater in the present case, because only one manuscript of the *Bṛhatī* could be procured. The editor was, however, fortunate in securing four copies of the commentary on it; and they should have been of immense service to him in determining the correct form of the text where its manuscript was imperfect. In this difficult task the editor has received, as he gracefully acknowledges in the Preface, much help from Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriyar of the Presidency College, Madras, whose unrivalled scholarship in the *darśanas* in general and Mīmāṁsā in particular, is a sufficient guarantee that the textual problems, which arose in the course of editing the work, have been satisfactorily solved.

The Prābhākara school has several characteristic doctrines, like the one, for example, which is known as *akhyāti-vāda*. The most important of them, which is also perhaps the least understood now, is the doctrine of *niyoga* or 'Vedic mandate'; and it

is treated of at length in the present publication. The work also contains side references to other points of historical or doctrinal importance like the *śabda-brahma-vāda* of the grammarians (p. 160) and the views of Buddistic thinkers like Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti (e.g. pp. 87, 53). The editor does not propose to continue the printing of the remaining portions of the *Bṛhatī*; but he promises that a supplementary volume will be issued containing the *Bhāṣya-pariśiṣṭa* of Śālikanātha, which is a direct commentary on the *bhāṣya* of *Śabara*, and an introductory essay in English by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriyar. We eagerly look forward to its publication and expect that it will not only elucidate several points in the Prābhākara doctrine which are now only vaguely understood but will also incidentally light up some at least of the many dark corners in the history of Indian philosophy.

M. H.

THE MATSYA PURANA: A STUDY. BY V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., LECTURER IN INDIAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. BULLETINS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, No. 5 Re. 1, S. 1/6.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar opened his study of the Purāṇas, a legitimate source of information for the historian of ancient India, with a general survey of the Purāṇas in Vol. VIII of the IHQ. He followed it up with his "Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa" and has given us now his study of the Matsya Purāṇa. The study runs to about 140 pages and discusses in its first four chapters the flood legends, the origin of the Purāṇa, theory of incarnation, the date of the Purāṇa and the Polity and Architecture described in the Purāṇa. It finishes with two useful chapters, the fifth and the sixth, on the indebtedness of the Matsya Purāṇa to the Vāyu Purāṇa and on the Tamil Matsya Purāṇa.

1. The author says on p. 17 that South India was the place of flood; the arguments are few and naive. Details of the flood-story which contradict this conclusion are conveniently overlooked. Here he gives R. V. III. 24.3 mentioning "four tribes sprung from Manu" as additional proof! The probable identity between the Vedic "Pañcajana" and "Pañcakṣiti" and the five-fold division of the country in Tamil literature has been suggested by P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar and R. Raghava Ayyangar;

but Dikshitar neither cites the text, nor collects the several texts mentioning "Pañcajana" and "Pañcakṣiti"; he does not discuss the question at all. Above all, his reference to Ṛg Veda III. 24.3 is wrong; it should be Atharva Veda III. 24.3; and, it might be added for Dikshitar's information that the Ṛg Veda itself refers to the "five peoples" at least six times in Maṇḍalas I, 7 & 10.

2. Discussing the origin of the Purāṇa, the author digresses into an account of the Matsya tribe and the Matsyadeśa and opines that the fish-flood-legends were "cultivated" (p. 23) by the Matsyas! Comment is needless.

3. The author thinks that on pp. 23-4, he has proved the South Indian nativity of the Matsya Purāṇa. Its South Indian origin is not as plain as that of the Bhāgavata. On p. 24, the author makes the convenient remark that the Purāṇa is *full of* references to South India, which remark he has not substantiated; nor can the text of the Purāṇa justify it. Leaving other evidences to the contrary in the Purāṇa, we would like to draw Dikshitar's attention to Matsya XVI, 16, where, as a contrast to the Bhāgavata, which expressly glorifies the Draviḍadeśa and its people, the Matsya brings the Draviḍas, Uḍras, Āndhras and Koṅkaṇs under Mlecchas, whose sight must be avoided during Śrāddha time. From other parts of the author's study also, it is plain that the author, easily and naturally, ignores texts of importance.

4. Ch. I, section 3 of the study is mostly a digression; it explains or tries to explain 'Daśāvatāra' in the light of the Evolution theory and proclaims Vāmana as the missing link! According to the author's study, Kṛṣṇa, the Buddha and Kalki mean nothing. In this connection again, the digressing author has little time and space for the contribution of the Matsya to the idea of Avatāra. Noteworthy matter on the subject in Matsya 47 is almost ignored, except for a casual remark on p. 25 which again betrays insufficient understanding of the text.

5. On pp. 42-44, Dikshitar says that Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra is referred to in the Matsya Purāṇa and devotes a section of his study to Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra. The Purāṇa does not refer to Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra. Nor does it contain anything relating to the Vaikhānasa Śāstra, Śukra Nīti and the Liṅgāyat sect. It is impossible to understand how the author is led to see references to these three where they do not exist at all.

6. The author fails to notice what has been plainly said in the Purāṇa. The following are some instances of the serious omissions: Matsya II, 13-14 which mention the Narmadā as the only river which lasts even through the deluge; ch. VIII echoes the Vibhūti-adhyāya of the Gītā; ch. II, 22-24, Matsya's expansion of the 'Pañcalakṣaṇa' definition of Purāṇa; ch. XXIV, 2-3, the statement that Budha is the eponymous author of Elephantology and that the text called "Rājaputrīya" quoted in later texts is his work; ch. X, 24-25, mention of Vararuci as a master of Nāṭya; ch. XIII, 38 which mentions Rādhā, who does not occur even in the Bhāgavata; ch. IV, 19-20 and 23 which presuppose the Bṛhatkathā; ch. CCXXIX 2 which mentions a Vṛddha Garga and his astrological work.

7. It is regrettable that the author should still persist in taking "Vākovākya" as speech of birds and beasts. Wrong understanding of the text is seen in the two main sections on Polity and Architecture—Eg. the interpretation of Matsya ch. 215, 58-59 on p. 75 of the study, the paragraph on the crown prince on p. 93, and the whole of the matter on the types of Prāsādas on pp. 109-110. Regarding ancient Indian Polity, the author makes contradictory statements on pp. 76 and 86. The section on Architecture is scrappy.

8. Important statements are made without references being given to the texts. The study, as a whole, is neither exhaustive nor critical, as carelessly written as it is printed. Not a single Sanskrit text quoted is free from errors. Proof-reading seems to have been done more to observe a custom and the Errata at the end containing only three corrections must be taken by the readers as Upalakṣaṇa.

"SAUTI"

BHATTACINTAMANI—A COMMENTARY ON THE BHATTADIPIKA, BY VANCHESVARA. EDITED BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA SASTRA-RATNAKARA MIMAMSARATNA BRAHMASRI VENKATASUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, PRINCIPAL, MADRAS SANSKRIT COLLEGE, MYLAPORE, MADRAS. Rs. 6/-. Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore Madras, 1934.

The Bhāṭṭadīpikā of Khaṇḍadeva is the most authoritative treatise of recent times in the sphere of the Mīmāṁsā of the Bhāṭṭa School. Khaṇḍadeva lived in the early half of the 17th century in Benares and wrote most of his works from there. His

pupil, the famous Śambhu Bhaṭṭa wrote the first commentary on the Bhāṭṭadīpikā; it was followed by the Candrikā of Bhāskararāya. The work under review is the last of the commentaries on the Bhāṭṭadīpikā.

Khaṇḍadeva is reputed to have omitted the Tarkapāda from his work. On the other hand we find Vāñcheśvara commenting on the portion of the Bhāṭṭadīpikā relating to the Tarkapāda. Wherefrom he got that text is not clear. Vāñcheśvara is an erudite scholar; he shows a complete mastery of Śrauta and other śāstras in this scholarly commentary. The portion from the beginning up to the end of the third pāda in the third adhyāya is published in the volume under review. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Brahmaśrī Venkatasubrahmanya Sastriar, who edited the work was an authority in Mīmāṁsā. A short account of the life history of the author is found in the introduction. The detailed table of contents, the index of adhikaraṇas, the index of sūtras, the list of adhikaraṇa nyāyas, and the index of quotations will be found very useful. The list of corrections is pretty long, but exhaustive. The book has been neatly printed and attractively got up. We heartily welcome this publication.

T. R. C.

THE GĪTIKĀ METRE IN SANSKRIT

BY

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Three metres, bearing the name Gītikā, are mentioned in the index at the end of Kittel's edition of Nāgavarma's *Canarese Prosody* (or *Chandōmbudhi*). One is a *varṇa-gaṇa* metre with four pādas following the scheme *na ra ra la ga* (the name of the metre is given as Nītike in the MS, and emended by Kittel into Gītike); the second is a mora metre with pādas containing 12, 18, 12 and 18 mātrās and is the same as the Gīti (sub-division of the Āryā) of Sanskrit prosodists, while the third is a *miśra-gaṇa* metre. It is the third-mentioned metre that concerns us here in this paper.

This metre is defined thus in Nāgavarma's *Chandōmbudhi* (V. 312; p. 114 of Kittel's edition):

> eṟaḍaroḷ āṟemba saṃkhyeyoḷ
> bare padma-bhavan uḷidavu meccuva teṟadiṃ-|
> dire baḷik inneraḍu munnin ante
> karam esed oppu Gīta-gaṇaṃ||

" The Brahmā foot in the second, in the number six, the other (feet) being what one likes; the two (pādas) that follow (are) like the preceding (two); thus is formed the class of metres known as Gītikā ".

The number of feet that constitute pādas 1, 2 (or the first half) is not specified; but as it is said that it is the same as that contained in pādas 3, 4 (or second half), an analysis of the verse which is itself composed in the Gītikā metre shows that this number must be either six or seven.

The expression *eṟaḍaroḷ* (' in the second ') in the first pāda is regarded by Kittel as referring to the pāda; and the Gītikā, therefore, according to him, consists of two halves containing seven and six feet respectively, the sixth foot in each half being a Brahmā. The editor of the Karṇāṭaka-kāvya-kalānidhi edition of the book, however, interprets that expression as 'in the second place ', and says that the Gītikā consists of two halves with seven feet each, and that, in both halves, the second and sixth feet are Brahma-gaṇas.

These interpretations are both wrong. The *Kavirājamārga*, written in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amōghavarṣa I (A. D. 815-877) contains twenty-two stanzas composed in this metre; and an examination of these stanzas (see particularly I, 45, 112, 137 on pp. 10, 23 and 28 of the edition published by the Madras University) shows clearly that the editor of the K. K. edition is wrong in interpreting *eṟaḍaroḷ* as 'in the second place', and that Kittel is wrong in holding that the second half contains six feet only and not seven. And these stanzas, as well as Nāgavarma's definition given above, make it plain that the Gītikā consists of two halves each containing seven *miśra* feet, the sixth foot in both halves being a Brahmā foot while the others may be Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Rudra[1] feet.

It is my object in this paper to point out some instances of Sanskrit verses that are composed in this Gītikā metre.

1. In the course of the article published in pp. 46 ff. above of this *Journal*, I have had occasion to point out that the first twenty-four verses of the Tālgunda inscription of Śāntivarman are not *mātrāsamakas* as believed by Kielhorn (*Epig. Indica*, 8, 27) but are composed in what I have there called *miśra-gaṇa*[2] metres, that all but five[3] of the ninety-six pādas contained in these verses consist of a R(udra) foot, followed by a V(iṣṇu) foot and a B(rahmā) foot, and that hence twenty of these are *samavṛttas* belonging to the *m i ś r a-g a ṇ a* class of metres and four, *upajātis*. In other words, since *m i ś r a-g a ṇ a*

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1. Regarding these feet, see p. 51 above in this *Journal*.

2. Kittel calls them *dēvākṣara-gaṇas*, because Nāgavarma himself has, according to him, made use of that term in V. 340 (p. 127): *bayasida dēvākṣarada prayōga-tarav ādudellamaṃ pēḷdeṃ*. In the K. K. edition, however, this verse (V. 260) reads as *Jayadēvākṣaradhavaḷa-prayōga-taram āduv-ellamaṃ pēḷdeṃ* and one cannot therefore feel certain that Nāgavarma really used the term *dēvākṣara* in connection with these gaṇas.

The term *tripuruṣa*, used in this connection by the editor of the K. K. edition, is equally dubious. According to him, the term is used by Nāgavarma in the phrase (p. 77) *ī tri-puruṣarind āda gaṇada neraviyoḷe*; but in Kittel's edition (p. 98) this phrase reads as *pinte pēḷda gaṇada neraviyoḷ*, and there is no mention of *tripuruṣa* in it.

3. In reality all but four; 17a follows the regular scheme RVB and not RRB as I have erroneously said there.

metres with four pādas of the type RVB are unknown[1], I have in effect agreed with Kielhorn in thinking that the metre of these verses is 'unbekannt' (unknown), though dissenting from his opinion that it is a mora metre.

This substitution of one unknown metre for another is not very satisfactory, and I now propose therefore to abandon the division into gaṇas adopted in that article in favour of another which would make these stanzas conform to the definition of the Gītikā given above.

This is quite feasible; for, as readers may have noticed, a given sequence of *gurus* and *laghus*, while it can be divided into varṇa-gaṇas in only one way, can be divided into miśra-gaṇas in many different ways. Thus, for instance, pādas ab of stanza 1 of the Tālgunda inscription:

jayati viśva-veda[2]-saṃghāta-
nicitaika-mūrtis sanātanaḥ

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1. The only metres of this class, besides Gītikā, that are mentioned and described by Nāgavarma in his *Chandōmbudhi* (vv. 299, ff.; pp. 98 ff. in Kittel's edition) are:—*Tripadī* (4+4+3 gaṇas); *Piriy-akkara* (4 pādas of the type BVVVVVR), *Dorey-akkara* (4 pādas of the type VVBVVB), *Naḍuvaṇ-akkara* (4 pādas of the type BVVVR), *Eḍey-akkara* (4 pādas of the type BVVR), Ēḷe (Nāgavarma's description of this metre is obscure and no examples are known of verses composed in this metre), *Akkarike* (4 pādas of the type VBVBVR), *Caupadī* (4 pādas of the type RR), *Chandōvataṃsa* (4 pādas of the type VVVB) and *Madanavatī* (4 pādas of the type VVVVR or RRRV or VVVVV-gu).

2. I do not agree with Kielhorn (*Ep. Indica.* 8, 31, n. 7) that the reading is *-deva-*. In the collotype opposite to p. 32, one can see how similar the formation of this letter *ve* is to that of *vi* in *viśva*. For the rest, there can be no doubt that the Sthāṇu or Śiva praised in this verse is the Śiva-liṅga known as Praṇaveśvara before whose temple the pillar containing the inscription stands (see Kielhorn's description on p. 24 l. c.). The epithet *viśva-veda-saṃghāta-nicitaika-mūrti* refers to this Praṇaveśvara, and is quite apposite since the *praṇava* is regarded as the quintessence or embodiment of the Vedas. Compare for instance, the passage *oṃ ity etad akṣaraṃ brahmāsya pādāś catvāro vedāś catuṣpād idam akṣaraṃ paraṃ brahma pūrvāsya mātrā pṛthivy a-kāraḥ sa ṛgbhir ṛg-vedo brahmā vasavo gāyatrī gārhapatyaḥ . . .* that occurs in the *Atharvaśikhopaniṣad*.

can each be divided into miśra-gaṇas in eight different ways as BBBV, BBVB, BVBB, VBBB, VRB, VBR, RVB and RBV; and the ardha formed of these pādas can thus be divided into miśra feet in 8×8 or 64 different ways. Further, if we disregard the division into pādas and consider the ardha itself (with its twenty akṣaras) as a unit, we can divide it into miśra-gaṇas in still other different ways).[1] Similarly, the other ardhas too in the verses of this inscription, and also in the other miśra-gaṇa verses referred to in the above-mentioned article, can all be divided into feet in many different ways.

Now, in connection with these verses, there are no extraneous considerations present that indicate[2] the particular way in which the pāda or ardha should be scanned ; in fact, there is nothing to even indicate that the verses in question belong

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1. *e.g.* RRRRB, VRRRR, BRRRVB, etc.

2. It is usual for Kannaḍa poets to mention the name of the metre in connection with all stanzas composed by them. Miśra-gaṇa stanzas however are rare even in Kannaḍa works. Thus, for instance, in Ponna's *Śānti-purāṇa* (c. 950 A. D.), out of a total of 1637 stanzas, only nine (5 Akkaras, 4 Tripadīs; see App. 4 at the end of the printed edition) belong to this class; in Pampa's *Adīpurāṇa* (942 A. D.), out of a total of 1623 stanzas, only six (4 Akkaras, 2 Tripadīs) belong to this class (see p. 6 of Introd. to *Śāntipurāṇa*) and in the *Vikramārjunavijaya* (c. 943 A. D.) of the same author, out of a total of 1609 stanzas, ten only (1 akkara and 9 piriy-akkaras) belong to this class (see p. 525 of the Sāhitya Pariṣad edition of this book). In Ranna's *Ajitapurāṇa* (993 A.D.) which has 791 stanzas (see p. 6 of Introd. to Ponna's *Śānti-purāṇa*), there is none belonging to this class; nor is there any in that author's *Sāhasabhīmavijaya* (c. 1000 A. D.).

Kannaḍa poets of the 14th and later centuries employed for the most part the metres Sāṅgatya and Ṣaṭpadī in their writings, so that it is difficult to find in their works stanzas composed in the Āryā and other well-known metres even, let alone miśra-gaṇa metres.

Examples of the Gītikā are met with in the *Kavirājamārga* and Nāgavarma's *Kāvyāvalōkana*, and, so far as I know, in no other Kannaḍa work. Examples of Ēḷe are, as observed above, unknown; and so likewise are examples of the Chandōvataṁsa, Madanavatī, Caupadī, Naduvaṇ-akkara, Eḍey-akkara, and Dorey-akkara.

to the miśra-gaṇa class, and we are therefore free to adopt any way of scansion that we like.

Of the sixty-four ways of feet-division mentioned in the above connection, sixteen furnish us with an *ardha* of 8 feet, and sixteen, with one of 6 feet; the remaining thirty-two furnish us with an *ardha* of 7 feet. By scanning the above two pādas therefore as BBVBRBV, we get an *ardha* of 7 feet the sixth of which is a Brahmā foot. Similarly, the second half too of stanza 1: *sthāṇur indu-raśmi-vicchurita-dyutimaj-jaṭā-bhāra-maṇḍanaḥ* can be scanned as BBVBRBV, and the stanza is thus found to be a Gītikā. In regard to the 46 halves of the remaining 23 stanzas too, we get, by scanning pādas bd as RBV and pādas ac as BBVB (and BVVB in the case of 11c, 17c, 21c and 24c), halves of 7 feet with B as the 6th foot; and we thus find that all the twenty-four stanzas at the beginning of the Tālgunda inscription of Śāntivarman are Gītikās.

The two verses cited on p. 48 above from the Tusām and Ajaṇṭā inscriptions too are likewise Gītikās; both halves of the first verse, and the second half of the second, can be scanned as BBVBRBV, while the first half of the second can be scanned as BBVBRBR.

2. On p. 53 of the above-mentioned article, I have referred to sixty stanzas of Bhaṭṭa-Bhīma's *Rāvaṇārjunīya* that are composed in a miśra-gaṇa metre. These stanzas are all Gītikās: of the 120 *ardhas* contained in them, sixty-five[1] contain the gaṇas BBVBRBV, twenty-three[2] the gaṇas BBVVRBV, nine[3]

1. Namely, both halves of 21/39; 65/18; 68/44; 69/49; 30/61; 33/26; 97/10; 168/7; 170/20; 171/25, 28; 172/36, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54; 192/60; 174/58; first halves of 5/35; 16/70; 19/26; 33/23; 49/7, 8, 9; 55/60; 60/31; 64/5; 68/43; 174/54; 177/80; 179/6; 203/53; and the second halves of 84/62; 85/63; 94/58; 169/15; 171/27, 30, 31, 32; 172/34, 40, 41, 48. Regarding the mode of citation, see n. 2 on p. 53 above.

2. Namely, both halves of 84/65; 172/37, 39; 176/68; first halves of 94/58; 169/15; 170/22; 172/35, 41; 176/70 and second halves of 49/8; 53/44; 55/60; 60/31; 170/22; 171/26, 33; 173/52 and 177/80.

3. Namely, first halves of 83/54; 171/26, 31; 172/42; 173/48 and second halves of 33/23; 49/7, 9; 179/8.

the gaṇas BBVBRRB, ten[1] the gaṇas BBBBRBV, five[2] the gaṇas BBVRRBV, three[3] the gaṇas BBVBRBR, two[4] each the gaṇas BBBBRBB and BBBBBBV, while one ardha[5] contains the gaṇas BBBBRBV. That is to say, each ardha contains 7 gaṇas the sixth of which is a Brahmā.

Similarly the two verses:

iti sureyaṃ pañca-pañcāhād
rasa-varṇa-gandhaiḥ samanvitā|
bhavati tailaṃ nāmataś cedam
undīram aty-artha-kārmukam||
tailam etad yaḥ surām api vā
puruṣaḥ prayuñjīta yatnataḥ|
pariharanti taṃ gadānīkāny
ājau kṛtāstrān ivetare||

quoted by Kielhorn (p. 27 l. c.) from the *Bower Manuscript* are also Gītikās: every one of the four ardhas contains the gaṇas BBVBRBV.

3. In a note published in the JRAS, 1906, Mr. Thomas pointed out (p. 453) that the Kharoṣṭhī inscription engraved on a steatite vase kept in the Peshawar museum (it is now in the Central Museum, Lahore) is a verse composed in an unknown metre; and he read this verse as

Gihilena Sīharacchitena ca
bhatarehi Takkaśilāe|
ayaṃ thūvo pratitthāvito
savva-buddhāna pūyāe||

Prof. Lueders has however shown in his article in *Ep. Indica*, 8, 296 ff., that the readings *Gihilena* and *bhatarehi* are wrong, and that the proper reading of the inscription (with the long vowels and double consonants expressed in writing) is—

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1. Namely, first halves of 53/37; 171/27, 30, 32, 33; 172/40; 173/52 and second halves of 5/35; 19/26 and 179/6.

2. Namely, first half of 84/62 and second halves of 64/5; 68/43; 172/42 and 176/70.

3. Namely, first halves of 53/44; 85/63 and second half of 179/8.

4. *Viz.*, first half of 172/34 and second of 16/70; and first half of 179/8 and second of 83/54 respectively.

5. *Viz.*, second half of 172/35.

Sīhilena Sīharacchitena ca
bhrātarehi Takkhaśilāe|
ayaṃ thūvo pratitthāvito
savva-buddhāna pūyāe||

And he observes in continuation: "It appears at once that the regularity of the metre is less great than supposed by Mr. Thomas. . . . Mr. Thomas's suggestion, ingenious as it is, cannot be called certain, and until the metre assumed by him should turn up elsewhere, I should prefer to treat the record as written in prose."

It can be seen that the above passage can be divided into halves (as has been done by Lueders) which contain the gaṇas RRVBBBV and BBBVVBV respectively. The passage thus is a Gītikā, and Mr. Thomas was quite justified in looking on it as a verse.

(*b*) In the note referred to above (JRAS. 1906, p. 452), Mr. Thomas has also pointed out that the inscription found on the Piprahwa vase is likewise a verse, and that it begins with the words *iyaṃ salila-nidhane*. The late Dr. Fleet, in another note published in the same journal (1907, p. 106), agreed with Mr. Thomas that the inscription was a verse, but said that *iyaṃ salila-nidhane* was the beginning of the second half, and that the verse began with the words *sukiti-bhatinam*. Thus, according to him, the stanza, after restoration of the long vowels and double consonants, would read as—

∪ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ ∪∪
sukīti-bhātīnaṃ sabhagi
- - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - - -
ṇīkānaṃ saputta-dālānam|
- - ∪ -∪ ∪ - -
iyaṃ salīla-nidhāne
- - ∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ - -
(*a*) buddhassa bhagavate sakiyānam||
- - - ∪∪ ∪ - ∪ - - -
(*b*) buddhassa bhagavate sakīyānam||;

and the metre was Udgīti when (*a*) *te* in *bhagavate* was regarded as short, and Upagīti when (*b*) it was regarded as long, and when, in addition, one read *sakī* (with long *ī*) in the word *sakiyanam* and regarded *ssa* in *buddhassa* as long.

I am unable to follow Fleet in regarding the syllables *te* in *Bhagavate* and *nam* in *sabhagiṇīkānam* as light; nor do the arguments urged by him to show that *ssa* in *buddhassa* is heavy, carry conviction to my mind; the reading *sakīyānam* too (with

long ī) seems to me to be erroneous. It is therefore my opinion that this verse can be neither an Upagīti nor an Udgīti. On the other hand, since its two halves contain the gaṇas VBBVBBV and BBBBVBV respectively, it seems to me preferable to look on the verse as a Gītikā.

(c) Lines 1, 2 of Fragment 1 published by Prof. Lueders in his *Bruchstueicke buddhistischer Dramen* contain the passage, *bhava-nivarttakeṣu kleśeṣu na kiñcid asti pprahātavyaṃ yasya nityam anityaṃ vā na kiñcid asti boddhavyam*, immediately after which follow the letters t. m. y. n. ks. pt. which have to be read as *tamo yena kṣiptam*. This passage is not mentioned on pp. 27-29 where Lueders has collected together all the metrical passages that occur in the fragments, which makes it plain that he looks upon it as prose. And yet, the words *yasya nityam anityaṃ vā na kiñcid asti boddhavyam* have a metrical ring about them; and examination shows that the passage *is* really a verse whose first half ends with *prahātavyam*. The two halves contain the gaṇas BBVBRBV and BBBBVBV respectively, and the verse is thus, like the verses in the above-mentioned two inscriptions, plainly a Gītikā with end-rhyme. It is, so far as the scheme of gaṇas in the two halves is concerned, the exact counterpart of Rāvaṇārjunīya 16/70: *lohitāyamāna-sarvāṅgaiḥ sindūra-saṅgān mataṅgajaiḥ| lohitāyatīśituḥ sandhyeva pṛthvī vicāriṇī.*

The fragment referred to above belongs to a drama which was, according to Lueders (p. 65), written in the first century A. D., while the vase inscriptions referred to above belong to the third or fourth century B. C. The Tālgunda inscription of Śāntivarman is assigned by Kielhorn (*Ep. Indica*, 8, 31) to about the first half of the sixth century A. D., and the Tusām and Ajaṇṭā inscriptions are, in all probability, both earlier. As regards the *Rāvaṇārjunīya*, there is nothing in it to indicate when it was written; but it is evident from the work that the author, Bhīma, was a good grammarian. Now, we know of a grammarian Bhīma or Bhīmasena who wrote a commentary on Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha* and lived before Candragomin in the 5th century A. D. or earlier (Liebich: *Zur Einfuehrung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, III, *Der Dhātupāṭha*, p. 5). If this Bhīma be the same as the author of the *Rāvaṇārjunīya*, that work would have to be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

As already observed on p. 50 above of this *Journal*, it is the opinion of Nāgavarma that the miśra-gaṇa metres are peculiar to

the Kannaḍa language and are not in use in Sanskrit and Prākṛt compositions. The question therefore arises: how can this opinion of Nāgavarma be reconciled with the fact that more than eighty Sanskrit verses composed in the Gītikā metre have come down to us? To this question, I am unable, in the present state of our knowledge, to attempt an answer.

The Gītikā is not, perhaps, the only miśra-gaṇa metre that is employed in Prākṛt. The Jogīmārā cave inscription:

> śutanuka nama| devadaśikkyi|
> taṃ kamayitha balanaśeye|
> devadine nama| lupadakhe|

that is incised in Brāhmī characters of Aśoka's time (see the account of Dr. Bloch in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1903-4, Part II, p. 128 ff.) is, as pointed out by Prof. Lueders (*op. cit.*, p. 42) and as, indeed is evident from the division into lines, a verse containing three lines or a Tripadī. After restoration of the long vowels and double consonants that are not shown in the writing, these lines read as—

> Śutanukā nāma devadāśikkyī|
> taṃ kāmayittha Bālānaśeye|
> Devadinne nāma lūpadakkhe||

and form, according to Lueders, a mora *tripadī* with three lines containing 17 mātrās each. Now, Tripadīs are unknown to writers on Sanskrit prosody; and even the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgaḷa*, which describes three such, the Sihinī (32 + 12 + 18 moras), Gāhinī (12 + 18 + 32 moras) and Mālā (45 + 12 + 15 moras), knows nothing of one with 17 mātrās in each pāda.

The miśra-gaṇa metre Tripadī is described by Nāgavarma in VV. 299-301 of the *Chandōmbudhi* (pp. 98-101 of Kittel's edition) and consists of three lines containing 4, 4 and 3 gaṇas respectively, of which the 6th and 10th are required to be Brahma-gaṇas. The others, according to Nāgavarma's definition, must be Viṣṇu or Rudra feet; but examples are met in inscriptions where they also are Brahma-gaṇas; see, for instance, the Taṭṭukōṭi inscription of about the seventh century A. D. published in *Indian Antiquary* 10, p. 61, lines 5-8. The lines of the above verse can be divided into the gaṇas VBVB; VBVB and RBR respectively, and we can look upon it as a *Tripadī* of the miśra-gaṇa class.

I would add, in conclusion, that a careful search in ancient inscriptions and books will, in all probability, bring to light other examples of verses composed in miśra-gaṇa metres.

TĀṆḌIVĀḌA PLATES OF PṚTHVĪ MAHĀRĀJA.

BY

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These plates, which belong to a hitherto unknown ruling family of the Telugu country, were kindly lent to me by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi. As Mr. Kavi does not remember how he obtained them, it is not possible to know the region in which they were found. The plates are three in number, each of them is O. 1″ in thickness and measures 6.2″ by 2.1″. Their total weight is 26½ tolas. There is a hole O. 35″ in diameter near the left edge for inserting the ring. The plates, excepting the first, are inscribed on both the sides. There are four lines of writing on the first, and five lines on each side of the other two plates. Neither the ring to which the inscription was originally fastened, nor the seal has come into my hands.

The inscription contained in these plates is incomplete. It appears that there were four plates belonging to it, securely fastened to a ring, in the possession of Mr. Kavi. The Superintendent of Epigraphy, who secured a loan of this set of plates, noticed it briefly tn the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1916-17.[1] Only three of the four plates are now available, Mr. Kavi having lost the fourth plate.

Though the inscription is incomplete, it does not impair our knowledge of its contents; for the lost plate contained only the imprecatory verses which are usually found in inscriptions. This is shown by the line of the verse '*bahubhir-vasudhā dattā*', inscribed at the end of the fifth line on the second side of the third plate.

The characters used in this inscription belong to the Vengi alphabet of the 6th and 7th centuries. They present no difficulties. There is one point, however, that deserves notice here. The Epigraphist reads the name of the *ājñapti* (3 pl. 2 side ll.4-5) as Rāmabinṟu rājaḥ.[2] Now the first letter of l. 5 of 3 pl. 2nd

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1. No. 6, App. A & Part ii, Para. 52.
2. M.E.R. 1917, II p. 132.

side is not '*bi*' but '*la*'; a comparison with '*li*' in '*śīlinaḥ*' (pl. 2 side 2 l.5) makes it clear. Moreover, '*ba*' did not assume its present shape, which the letter under consideration very closely resembles, until the 9th and the 10th centuries. Therefore, the name of the *ājñapti* must be read as Rāmalaṉṟu rājaḥ and not as Rāmabiṉṟu rājaḥ*. The letters are deeply engraved; and this has made the task of reading the inscription, even in places where the plates are worn out, easy. The engraver cannot be said to have exercised proper care in executing his task. Consequently, several mistakes have crept into the text of the inscription as shown below:

Plate No.	Side.	Line.	Mistake.	Correction.
1	,,	2	*Samudyōtita*	*Samuddyōtita*
2	1	4	*Pādānuddhyātaḥ*	*Pādānudhyātaḥ*
,,	,,	,,	*Prithivī*	*Pṛthivī*
,,	,,	,,	*grāma-madhi - vas-sata-sarva*	*grāma - madhivasa - tas-sarva*
,,	,,	,,	*Kuṭimbinaḥ*	*Kuṭumbinaḥ*
,,	,,	,,	*Samajñāpaya*	*Samājñāpaya*
,,	2	1	*Śrutimmṛti*	*Śrutismṛti*
,,	,,	,,	*agnaṣṭōma*	*agniṣṭōma*
3	1	1	(*Upa*) *niṣadyōgava-bōdha*	(*Upa*) *niśadyōgāva - bōdha*
3	1	3	*Koṇḍamaṇci*	*Koṇḍamañci*
3	2	2	*rārāgya*	*rārōgya*

Besides these, there are a few words in which letters are omitted. He inscribes '*priya tanaya*' (pl. 1, l.4) for '*priya tanayaḥ*', and '*ājñapti*' (pl. 3, side 2, l.4) for '*ājñaptiḥ*', omitting the *visarga* in both the cases. Again, he inscribes '*prardhamāna*' (pl. 3, side 2, l.3) for '*pravardhamāna*' leaving out the letter '*va*'.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit; the whole of it excepting the line '*bahubhir-vasudhā dattā*' (pl. 3, side 2, l.5) is in prose. The language is not faulty; but in Pl. 2 side 2, l. 3 there occurs an ungrammatical form, '*Prarāyamāṇa*'. This may be corrected into '*pratāyamāna*'.

The present inscription is assigned to the beginning of the 8th century A. D. on paleographical grounds.[1] There are reasons

* The name of the *ājñapti* is a little intriguing. I thank Mr. V. Prabhākāra Śastri for suggesting a correct explanation. The name of the *ājñapti* is Rāmala, ṉṟu (or ṇḍu) being the Telugu suffix of the third person nominative singular.

1. M.E.R. 1917, II, p. 132.

for believing that it belongs to an earlier epoch. (1) It is evident from 'Piṣṭapurāt', the opening sentence of the record, that the capital of Pṛthivī Mahārāja, the donor of the grant, was Piṣṭapuram. This town, together with the neighbouring country, fell into the hands of the Cāḷukyas in 630 A. D., who remained its masters ever since. Inscriptions make it abundantly clear that Piṣṭapuram and its neighbourhood were included in the Cāḷukyan dominions at 'the beginning of the 8th century.' Therefore, it could not have been possible for a king who was not a Cāḷukya to rule at Piṣṭapuram as an independent monarch. The donor of the present grant is not a Cāḷukya; nor is there any evidence to show that he was a subordinate of another king. Therefore, this grant must have been issued at some time before the Cāḷukyan conquest.

(2) It is not possible to assign this grant, even on paleographical considerations, to ' the beginning of the 8th century". The characters of this inscription closely resemble the alphabet of the Timmāpuram plates of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana. On account of these considerations, I believe that the inscription under consideration belongs to the 7th century and that 630 A. D. is a very good date for it.

The inscription records a grant made by Pṛthivī Mahārāja of Ramakāśyapasagōtra, son of Vikramēndra, and grandson of Mahārāja Raṇadurjaya of the village of Tāṇḍivāḍa in the Pāguṇāra *Viṣaya* as an *agrahāra* to the *Cchandogasabrahmacārin*, Bhavaśarman of Koṇḍamañci, a son of Pṛthvīśarman and a grandson of Viṣṇuśarman, having freed the village from all encumbrances. The grant was issued from Piṣṭapuram on *Kārttika* śu. 15 in the 46th regnal year of the king.

The dynasty to which the donor belonged is not known. He is, however, said to be a scion of the Rama-Kāśyapasagōtra. The name of the *gōtra* is, no doubt, unusual; but, on that account, it is not reasonable to declare that it is 'evidently a mistake for Kāśyapa *gōtra*.'[1] Raṇadurjaya, the grandfather of the donor was a '*Mahārāja*', and he is said to have brightened the quarters by his moonlight-like glory, which he acquired by protecting the whole world. It is not possible to estimate the real achievements of this king from such laudatory epithets. The name Raṇadurjaya occurs in the inscriptions of 11th and 12th centuries. The

1. M.E.R. 1917, II, p. 132.

Velanāḍu chiefs of Veṅgi claim a Raṇadurjaya as their ancestor.[1] It is not known whether the Raṇadurjaya of the present inscription had any connection with the ancestors of the Velanāḍu chiefs. As Vikramēndra, the father of the donor, is mentioned without any titles, it is very doubtful whether he ever ascended the throne. Probably he predeceased his father. Pṛthivī Mahārāja, the donor of the grant, appears to have been a powerful prince. It is said that his glory increased by the prowess of the *Sāmanta-maṇḍala* which he had subdued.

Vikramēndra, the name of the father of Pṛthivī Mahārāja, recalls to mind the names of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings. Of all the dynasties that ruled over Veṅgi, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins alone bore the name of Vikramēndra. It is not unlikely that they were somehow connected with the family of Pṛthivī Mahārāja. Following the ancient practice of naming one's children after one's overlord, Raṇadurjaya might have given the name of Vikramēndra to his son as a mark of his loyalty to his master. In that case, we have to suppose that Raṇadurjaya was originally a subordinate of Vikramēndra II of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family; and that he asserted his independence, having risen up against his sovereign in rebellion. The history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, so far as it is known, lends some support to this surmise. The authority of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins extended up to Paḷaki *rāṣṭra* in Kaḷiṅga during the reign of Indrabhaṭṭāraka Varman, the father of Vikramēndra Varman II. There is reason for believing that Indrabhaṭṭāraka's reign ended disastrously.[2] The Viṣṇukuṇḍins seem to have lost their hold on the territory to the north of the Gōdāvarī. This loss of territory might be due to the rebellion of Raṇadurjaya who seems to have established himself at Piṣṭapura. Vikramēndra II and his successor were not able to restore the fallen fortunes of their family. And therefore, Raṇadurjaya was able to bequeath his authority to his grandson. It was probably to reconquer the lost dominion that Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhava Varman III crossed the Gōdāvarī in the 48th year of this reign.[3]

The recipient of the gift registered in this charter is, as already noticed, the *Cchandogasabrahmacārin*, Bhavaśarman; he was learned in the *Vēdas*, the *Vēdāṅgas* and the *Śāstras*. He per-

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1. E.C. IV, p. 34.

2. J.B.B.R.A.S. XII, p. 10; Dubreuil: The History of Ancient Deccan.

3. The Bhāratī.

formed several sacrifices, offered worship to Gods, *pitṛs* and men day and night, acquired the *trisahasra vidyā* and commented on twenty works. His father, Pṛthvīśarman spent most of his time in performing sacrifices. He pleased the *ṛtvikas* by offering largesses liberally. He was skilled in the study, teaching, and exposition of the *trisahasra vidyā.* Viṣṇuśarman, his grandfather, mastered the *śrutis* and *smṛtis* thoroughly and he purified his body by performing the *agniṣṭōma* and other sacrifices.

The passage describing the donee and his ancestors give us an idea of the kind of education which was imparted to the Brahmans of the 7th century. Besides the *Vedas* and the *Vēdāṅgas*, they studied the *Śāstras*. Of the six *darśanas*, *nyāya*, *upaniṣad* (*vedānta*) and *yōga* are mentioned in the record. It is said that the donee and his father were both proficient in the *trisahasra vidyā*, the nature of which is not known. The Brahmaṇas of the age spent their lives in study and teaching. They constantly performed Vedic sacrifices such as the *agniṣṭōma*.

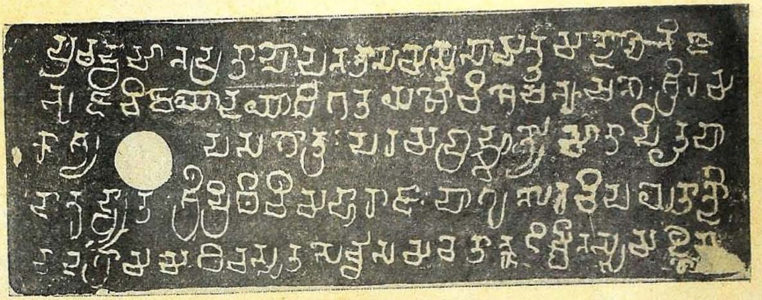
Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Piṣṭapura is identical with Piṭhāpuram in the East Gōdāvarī district. Tāṇḍivāḍa, the subject of this grant, is said to have been included in the Pāguṇāra *viṣaya*. Though the place, Pāguṇāra, cannot at present be identified, it is not impossible to locate the territory within its jurisdiction roughly. This district is mentioned in some of the Eastern Cāḷukya grants: one of the inscriptions of Cāḷukya Bhīma II records a grant of the village of Digumbaṟṟu in the Pāguṇavara *viṣaya*. It was bounded by Krāñca in the east, Krānūru in the south, and Palukonu on the west and the north.[1] Another inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana V records a grant of the village of Permajīli in the Pāguṇavāra *viṣaya* to Agniśarman of Poḍegu.[2] I believe that the names Pāguṇāra, Pāguṇavara and Pāguṇāvara refer to the same village. Now the area in which the villages, Digumbaṟṟu, Krāñca, Krānūru, Palakonu, Permajīli and Poḍegu mentioned in these two records are found, may be taken to indicate roughly the situation of the Pāguṇāra *viṣaya*. All the villages excepting Krānūru are found in the Narsapur taluka of the East Gōdāvarī district. Digumbaṟṟu, Krāñca, Palakonu, Permajīli and Poḍegu are evidently identical with Digumaṟṟu, Kāza, Pālakollu, Penumanchili and Pōḍūru respectively in the Narasapuram taluka. Therefore it may be

1. I.A. XIII, p. 215.
2. M.E.R. 1913-14, II, p. 85.

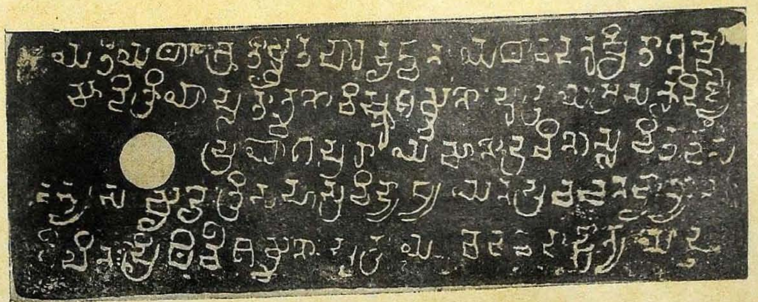
TĀṆḌIVĀḌA PLATES OF PṚTHVĪ MAHĀRĀJA

First Plate, First Side

Second Plate, First Side

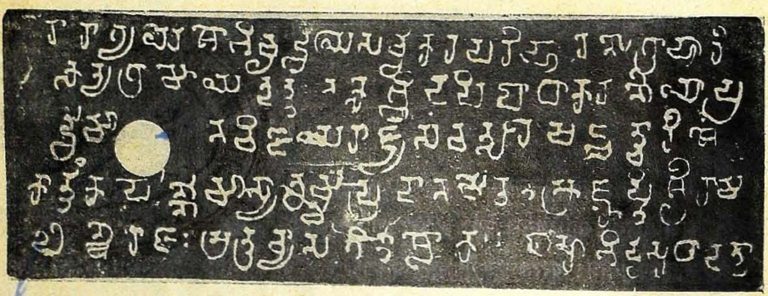


Second Plate, Second Side



Third Plate, First Side

Third Plate, Second Side



[By the kind courtesy of the Editor of the Bhāratī.]

held with reason that Pāguṇāra *viṣaya* corresponds to the Narasapur taluka in the East Godāvarī district. Now, a search must be made for Koṇḍamañci and the Tāṇḍivāḍa mentioned in the present inscription in the Narasapur taluka. The former is no doubt identical with Koṇḍamaṇchili on the western bank of the Godāvarī. The latter cannot be identified at present. There are two villages called Tāḍiparṟu and Tāmarāḍa in the Tanuku taluka. It is not known whether they have any connection with Tāṇḍivāḍa of the present grant.

FIRST PLATE

First Side

1. स्वस्ति[1] [।। *] श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरात् सकलजगदवनसमुद्भूतकीर्त्ति-
2. चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्यो[2]तितदिगन्तरस्य म-
3. हाराजरणदुर्ज्जयस्य सूनोस्समति-
4. शयितशक्रविभूतेर्व्विक्रमेन्द्रस्य प्रियतनय [:*]

SECOND PLATE

First side

1. प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डलनिज-
2. भुजविजयोदयाधिगतयशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरम-
3. काश्यपसगोत्रः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपा-
4. दानुद्ध्यातः[3] श्रीप्रिथिवी[4] महाराजः पागुणारविषये[5] ताण्डि-
5. वाडग्राममधिवस्सतसर्व्व[6]समवेतान् [7]कुटिम्बिनस्समज्ञाप[8]-

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1. The word स्वस्ति is inscribed in the margin opposite l. 3.
2. Read समुद्योतित.
3. Read पादानुध्यातः
4. Read पृथिवी
5. The horizontal stroke connecting the right with the left arm of ष is very indistinct.
6. Read अधिवसतस्सर्व-
7. Read कुटुम्बिन-
8. Read समाज्ञाप-

SECOND PLATE

Second Side

1. यति यथा श्रुतिम्मृति[1]पारदृश्वनः यथावदनुष्ठिताग्निष्टो[2]-
2. मादिक्रियापूतात्मनो विष्णुशर्म्मणः पुत्राय असकृदिज्या-
3. प्रयोगप्रारायमाण[3] द्रविणसूचितर्त्विक्स[4]-
4. दस्यसमृद्धेः त्रिसहस्रविद्याध्ययनप्रवचन[व्याख्यान]-
5. शीलिनः [5]पृथिवीशर्म्मणः पुत्राय वेदवे[दाङ्गन्यायोप]-

THIRD PLATE

First Side

1. निषद्योग[6]वबोधनिर्म्मलीकृतबुद्धये विविधाध्वरावभृथा-
2. म्भःपवित्रीकृतविग्रहाय देवपितृमनुष्यसमर्चन-
3. समानीतरात्रिन्दिवाय कोण्डमण्चिग्रामनिवासिने[7]
4. त्रिसहस्रविद्याय विंशतिव्याख्यानाय कामकायनस-
5. गोत्राय छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिणे भवशर्मणे अस्मदायु-

Second Side

1. रारााग्य[8]य[9]शोभिवृद्धये सर्व्वकरपरिहारेणाग्रहारी-
2. कृत्य ग्रामोऽयन्दत्तः [।*] न कैश्चिदपि बाधा करणीया [।*] प्र-
3. [*व]र्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे षट्चत्वारिंशे
4. कार्त्तिकपौर्णमास्यान्धर्मप्रदानमेतत् [।*] आज्ञप्ति श्रीराम-
5. लन्छ्ञनः [* ।] अत्र व्यासगीताश्लोकाः [॥] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता

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1. Read श्रुतिस्मृति
2. Read ग्निष्टो
3. Read प्रतायमान
4. The Letter क is indistinctly inscribed over स. Perhaps it has been inserted after engraving the line completely.
5. Originally प्रि was engraved; the letter was then corrected as पृ
6. Read निषद्योगावबोध.
7. Read कोण्डमञ्चि
8. Read रारोग्य-
9. The letter is inscribed with an additional seriph on the left arm.

BY

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III

COGNATES IN CENTRAL INDIAN AND NORTH INDIAN DRAVIDIAN.

(Contd. from page 147 of pt. ii, Vol. IX.)

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannaḍa.	Telugu.	Tuḷu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kuṟukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi
aḻu 'to weep'	old *aḻu*	*aḻ*	*ēḍuc-*	*ar-p-*	*r̲ī*, Kūvi*lī*	*ar*	*olox-*	*olg-*	
aḻu 'to burn'	old *aḻ*	*aḻ*	cf. *aḍalu* 'grief'	cf. *ar-tæ*		cf. *aṛkī* 'fever' *addī* 'heat'			
iḻi 'to descend'	*iḻi*	*iḻi*	*ḍig-*, *dig-*	*iḷi*, *iri*	*ḍī*, K. *rī-*		*ett-*[*itt-*]	*et-*	
iḻu-kk- 'to pull, drag'	*īḻkk-*	*iḻu*	*īḍc-* *igg-*		cf. Kūvi *re-*		*īc-*		
uḻu 'to plough'	*uḻu*	*uḻ*		cf. *ura* 'a plough'	*r̲ū*, K. *lū*		*uy-* 'to plough'; *ugta* 'a plough'		
eḻu 'to rise'	*eḻu*	*eḻ*	*lē-c-*	*er-p-*	*ḍēñj-* 'to be raised'		cf. *ejd-* 'to rouse from sleep'		cf. *he-f-* 'to raise'
kīḻ 'below'	*kīḻ*	*kīḻ*	*krinda*	*kirpu*	cf. Kuvi *lī* 'below'		*kiya*		*ki*, *ker-*
koḻuppu 'fat'	*koḻup-pu*	*koḻbu*, *korbu*, *kobbu.*	*krōvu*		*krōgo* 'fat, tallow, suet'				

Tamil.	Mal.	Kann.	Tel.	Tuḷu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kuṟukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
kul̲ai 'to mix,' to pound into a paste'	*kul̲ai*	*kol̲e*		*kure-p-*	*glōṅg-* 'to be mixed'	*kohk-*			
kol̲i 'to sift; winnow'	*kol̲i*	*kol̲i*			*kṛō-p* 'to winnow' K. *kloh-*				
kōl̲i 'fowl'	*kōl̲i*	*kōl̲i*	*kōḍi*	*kōri, kōḷi*	*kōju*	*korr*	*xer*	*xer*	
tōl̲an̲, 'companion'	*tōl̲an*		*tōḍi*		*lōṛa,* K. *tōnu*				
nul̲ai 'to creep in'	*nul̲ai*	*nol̲e*	cf. *nūy*	*nūr-, nur-g-*			*nulug-*		
pal̲a- 'old'	*pal̲a-*	*pal̲e*	*prā-*	*para-*	*prāḍi*		*pac-ba, pac-ga, pacc-*		
pal̲am 'fruit'	*pal̲am*	*paṇṇu*	*paṇḍu*	*parandu*		cf. *paṇḍ-* 'to ripen'	*pann-* 'to ripen'		
pal̲u 'to ripen'	*pal̲u-*								
pil̲i 'to squeeze'	*pil̲i*	*pil̲i*	*piḍu-c*	*pīṅg-*	*prī-p-*	*pir̲*	*pīx*	*pīx-, pilx-*	
pul̲u 'worm'	*pul̲u*	*pul̲u*	*pruvvu, purugu*	*puru, puri*	*prīu, pir̲u*	*pur̲ī*	*pocgo*	*pocr̲u*	*pū*
pul̲uṅg- 'to boil'	*puḷuṅṅ-*	*pul̲-g-*			*pur̲-p-* 'to roast'		*pūx-* 'to boil'	*pūg-*	

Tamil.	Mal.	Kann.	Tel.	Tuḷu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi	Kuṟukh.	Malto.	Brāhūi.
poḻudu 'time'	*poḻudu*	*poltu*	*proddu*			cf. *appoṟ* 'that time', *ippoṟ* 'now'.			
muḻu-g- 'to be immersed'	*muḻug-*, *muṅṅ-*.	*mulg-*	*munug*	*murk-*	*muñj*	*muṟug*	*mulux*	*mul-g-*	
vīḻ 'to fall'	*vīḻ-*	*bīl-*	cf. *vrēl-* 'to hang down from'	*būr-*	cf. *vṟī-* 'to fall down', *vṟiti* 'slippery'		cf. *bij-* 'to let fall inadvertently'		

REPRESENTATIVES OF Ḻ IN CENTRAL INDIAN AND NORTHERN DIALECTS.

Kūi-Kūvi.

In nine instances [*see* table above], *l* or *ṟ* represents *ḻ* of the south, in two *ḍ* or *d* appears, and in one a syncopated form stands for its southern correspondent.

Kūvi, a sub-dialect of Kūi, has *l* in at least three instances in which Kūi shows *ṟ*.

Many representatives are accent-shifted and aphaeresized modifications of the forms of the south.

ḻ of the south = Kūi-Kūvi *ṟ* (*r*), *ḍ* (*d*) or *l* (of Kūvi).

Gōṇḍi.

Ṟ represents *ḻ* of the south in at least four instances; *paṇḍ-* 'to ripen' is a verb corresponding to Tel. *paṇḍu* 'fruit'; *kohk-* 'to pound into a paste' owes its *h* to the Gōṇḍi change of an original *l, r + k; korr* 'fowl' has the trilled *ṟ* [Trench, *Gr.*, p.]; *addī* 'heat of the sun' [cf. Kann. *aḻte, arte,* Tuḷu *arte,* based on *aḻ* 'to burn'] shows syncope.

Kuṟu*kh*-Malto.

(i) *pacc-* 'old' [cf. southern *pala*];
poc-gō 'worm' [cf. south. *pulu*];

īc 'to pull' [cf. sth. *ilu-*]; and perhaps *xacc-* with its meanings as an auxiliary verb [as for *kaḻi* 'to be over'] 'to finish' 'to be done with'; these reveal *c* or *cc* in forms corresponding to those in the south with *ḻ*.

It is possible that *c*, *cc* of Kur.-Malto are the palatalised resultants of an older affix (*t* ?) which was embodied in these forms.

(ii) In *olox* 'to weep' [cf. southern *aḻu*], for the initial vowel of which one may compare *osgo* 'rat'=sth. *eli*, Gō *allī;* in *ol* 'to burn' [cf. sth. *aḻu* 'to burn']; in *nulug-* [cf. sth. *nuḻund-*]; and in *mulug-* 'to be immersed' [cf. sth. *muḻug-* 'to be immersed'], *l* stands for *ḻ* of the south.

(ii) Kuṟ. *uy-* 'to plough' [cf. sth. *uḻu-* 'to plough'] and *kīya* 'beneath' [cf. southern *kīḻ* 'below'] show *y* corresponding to *ḻ*.

(iv) In *itt-* 'to descend' [cf. sth. *iḻi* 'to descend'], *pūx-* 'to boil' [cf. sth. *puḻuṅg-* 'to boil'] and perhaps in the instances with *c, cc* given under (i) above, there has been syncope.

(v) In *xeṟ* 'fowl' [cf. sth. *kōḻi;* for *x*-, see IA, 1933] and perhaps in Malto *pocru* 'worm' [sth. *puḻu*], *r* or *ṟ* stands for southern *ḻ*.

(vi) Kur *pānn*- 'to ripen' shows developments similar to Kann. *paṇṇu* 'ripe fruit', Tel. *paṇḍu* 'ripe fruit', Gōṇḍi *paṇḍ*- 'to ripen' [cf. Tam.-Mal. *paḻam* 'ripe fruit' and Tuḷu *par-ndu* which latter shows the affix (*n*)*d* which has been embodied (with *sandhi* changes) in the Tel., Kann., Gō. and Kuṟ*ukh* forms].

The sound- correspondence series for Kuṟ. would therefore be the following:—*ḻ*=*l*, *y*, *r*, (*r*) [and syncope].

Brāhūi.

Not many cognates are available from this dialect; but the following are interesting:—

(i) *ker-agh* 'beneath' [cf. sth. *kīḻ* 'below'] shows *r*.

he-f- 'to raise' [cf. sth. *eḻb*- 'to raise'] in which -*f*- is the causative affix [=*vi*, the causative affix of the south] is perhaps a syncopated representative.

A similar syncope peshaps underlies Br. *pū* 'worm' [cf. sth. *puḻu*] and Br. *tamm*- 'to fall' [cf. sth. *tāḻ*- 'to fall'].

ḻ of the south=*r*, and an older sound suffering syncope.

IV

COGNATES EXCLUSIVE TO SOUTH DRAVIDIAN.

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannaḍa.	Telugu.	Tuḷu.
agaḻ 'to dig out'		*agaḻ*- *agaḻ* 'ditch'	*agaḍu*,*agaḍ-ta* 'ditch'	*agaru*, *aga-ḷu*.
aḻund- 'to insert'		*aḻd*	*add*-	
aḻukku	*aḻukku*	*aḻku*	*aḍusu* 'mud, quagmire'	
aḻagu 'beauty'	*aḻagu*	*aḻ*		
aḻi 'to destroy'	*aḻi*	*aḻi*	inscriptional *ḻay*-, later *ḍayy*- cf. also *aḍi* 'vain, useless in *aḍi*-	cf. *arp*- 'to destroy'.

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannaḍa.	Telugu.	Tuḷu.
			āsa 'vain hope'; *aḍava* 'damaged'	
al̲ai-kk-			*aḍug-*	
āl̲ 'to go down'	*āl̲*	*āl̲*		*ār, āḷ*
il̲ai	*il̲ai*	*el̲e*		
īl̲uvan̲ 'toddy-drawer'	*īl̲uvan*		*īḍigavāḍu*	
ul̲ai 'to labour hard'	*ul̲ai*	cf. *ul̲gi* 'penance'		
ūl̲iyam 'hard work'			*ūḍigam*	
ol̲i 'to be left behind'	*ol̲i*	*ul̲i*		
ol̲ug- 'to flow'	*ol̲ug-*	*ol̲g-*	*oluk-*	*ori-*
kal̲al-	*kal̲al*		*krāl-*	
kal̲i	*kal̲i*	*kal̲i*	*kaḍa-c-*	*kari-, kaḷi-*
kal̲ai	*kal̲a*	*gal̲e*		*karœ*
kal̲ug 'to wash'	*kal̲ug-*	*kal̲c-, karc-, kacc-*	*kaḍug-*	
kal̲uttu 'neck'	*kal̲uttu*	*kattu, kal̲tu*		
kil̲-a-van̲ 'old man'	*kil̲avan*	*kel̲avan*		
kul̲al 'tube'	*kul̲al*	*kol̲ai*	*krōvi; koḍalu* 'hollow cylinder'	
kul̲i 'pit'	*kul̲i*	*kul̲i, guṇi*	*gruyyi*	*kuri, kuḷi*
kūl̲u 'boiled rice,' 'food', 'paste'	*kūl̲u*	*kūl̲u*	*kūḍu*	*kūru, kūḷu*
kul̲al		*kul̲al*		
śul̲i	*cul̲i*	*sul̲i*	*suḍi*	*suri, suḷi*
tal̲ai-	*tal̲ai-*	*tal̲e-*	cf. *talir-c-*	
tāl̲- 'to go down'	*tāl̲-*	*tāl̲*	cf. *tāḷika, tāḷimi* 'endurance'	*tār-*
tul̲a-kk-		*tul̲i* 'to tread'	*trokk-* 'to trample, tread'	*tor-p-* 'to kick, tread'
tul̲a-v-	*tul̲a-*	*tol̲al-* 'to move round,	*trōy-* 'to be pushed aside'	

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannaḍa.	Telugu.	Tulu.
		be perplexed'		
toḻu 'to worship'	*toḻu-*	*tuḻil* 'worship'		*turli* 'worship'
toḻil 'work' 'profession'	*toḻil*	*tuḻil*		
toḻuttai 'servant' 'slave'		*toḻte*		
niḻal, *nīḻal* 'shade'	*niḻal*	*neḻal*, *neraḷu*	*nīḍalu*	*neralu*, *irelu*
pāḻ 'ruin' 'waste'	*pāḻ*	*pāḻ*	*pāḍu*	
pugaḻ 'to praise'	*pugaḻ*	*pugaḻ*	*pogaḍ-*	*pugar-*, *pugaḷ*.
puḻugu 'civet'	*puḻugu*	*puṇugu*	*puṇugu*	
puḻai 'channel'	*puḻa*	*poḻe*		
poḻi 'to be showered'	*poḻi*	*poyy-*	*pūy-*	
poḻil 'country, etc.'	*poḻil*	*polal*	*prōlu*	
pōḻ 'to be split'	*pōḻ*	*pōḻ*		
maḻai 'rain'	*maḻa*	*maḻe*		*maḷæ*
maḻuṅg- 'to become dim'	*maḻuṅṅ-*	*maḻg-*		
meḻug- 'to besmear'	*meḻug-*	*mett-*	*mrēg-*	*mett-*
meḻugu 'shine' 'lustre'	*meḻugu*	*merugu*	*merugu*	*merp-*
muḻai 'protuberance'	*muḻa*	*moḻe*		*moræ*, *muræ*
muḻaṅg- 'to be sounded'	*muḻaṅṅ-*	*mol*	*mrōg-*	
vaḻ-ukk- 'to slip'	*vaḻ-ukk-*	cf. *baḻal*		
vāḻai 'plantain tree'	*vāḻa*	*bāḻe*		*bāræ*, *bāḷæ*
viḻuṅg- 'to gulp'	*viḻuṅṅ-*	*ming-*	*mriṅg-*	

KANNAḌA.

(i) *Ḻ* was a common sound in old Kannaḍa till about the middle of the 13th century; but already in the inscriptional forms of 1000 A. D. to 1200 A. D. it had begun to be altered to *ḷ* or

to *r* (in syncopated forms):—*ēḷu* 'seven' and *ēḷge* 'may he ascend' [1019 A. D.], *baḷi* 'path', *gaḷe* 'staff' [1048 A. D.], *aḷi* 'to destroy' [for *aḻi* in 1076 A. D.], *pogaḷ-* 'to praise', *negaḷte* 'fame' [1123 A. D.] and *iḷigum* 'will descend' [for *iḻigum* in 1187 A. D.] show *ḷ* for *ḻ*,—a change which must have commenced early.

The inscriptional *arddidudu* 'was immersed' [for *aḻddidu*] and *birddu* 'having fallen' [for *biḻdu*] in 1019 A. D., *negarte* 'fame' [for *negaḻte* in 1084 A. D. show *r* for *ḻ* in forms showing syncope of intermediate syllables.

Literary forms with a similar *r* for *ḻ* are the following; some of these are met with in the most ancient extant texts beside their originals with *ḻ* :—

erb- 'to rouse' for *eḻb*.
ārdu 'having been lowered' for *āḻdu*.
targ- 'to be lowered' for *taḻg-*,
erdu 'having risen' for *eḻdu*.
korbu 'fat' for *koḻbu*.
kirg- 'to become low' for *kiḻg-*.
arlu 'mud, clay, mire' for *aḻ(a)lu*.
arti 'love' for *aḻti*.
arke 'weeping' for *aḻke*.
portu 'time,' 'the sun' for *poḻ(u)du*.

All these occur only in forms where the vowel following original *ḻ* has been syncopated; *neraḷu* which is a comparatively late form for *neḻal* 'shade', is perhaps the only modern form in which the *r* corresponding to older *ḻ* is retained to-day, the *r* in others having been "absorbed" completely in modern forms like *poddu* 'time', *biddu* 'having fallen', *eddu* 'having risen', *addu* 'having wept', etc.

(ii) Middle and modern Kann. forms like *ēḻu* 'seven', *aḷi-* 'to destroy', *kōḷi* 'fowl', *huḷu* 'worm', *bāḷe* 'plantain tree' show the change of *ḻ* to *ḷ*, occurring also in certain regional and communal colloquials of Tamil and in Mal. *appōḷ*, *ippōḷ*, etc.

TELUGU.

The chief sound-correspondences are (i) pre-literary inscriptional *ḻ* (ii) literary *ḍ* (iii) literary *r* in accent-shifted forms where *r* forms a consonant group with the initial consonant, (iv) *l* in one instance showing accent-shift and aphaeresis.

(i) Even if it is disputed that the inscriptional *cōḻa* 'cōḻa,' *ēḻu* 'seven' and a few others may have been due to the influence

of Kannaḍa vocabulary during the period of the Cāḷukyas when some of these inscriptions were composed, the form *ḻayy-* 'to be destroyed' [corresponding to *aḻi* of Tamil and Kann.], showing as it does the aphaeresis consequent on accent-shift so peculiar to Telugu (and not at all common in Tamil or Kann.), raises the presumption that the sound *ḻ* may have existed in pre-literary Telugu at least in some forms if not in all those corresponding to Tam. and Kann. words with *ḻ*.

(ii) Tel. *ḍ* corresponding to *ḻ* appears mostly in words which have not suffered accent-shift; but in *ḍebbadi* 'seventy' [Tam. *eḻubadu*], *ḍi-g-* 'to descend' [Tam. *iḻi*], *ḍ* appears in accent-shifted forms also.

The correspondence of Tel. *ḍ*=Tam., Kann. *ḻ* is regular in as many as twelve instances in the table above.

(iii) Tel. *r* for *ḻ* is mostly found in accent-shifted forms where *r* and the initial consonant become juxtaposed (on account of the suppression of the vowel of the first syllables) so as to constitute consonant-groups.

All the forms of this set are derivative, as shown by the presence of suffixal morphemes and by accent-shift and suppression of syllables.

(iv) In at least two Tel. forms, *l* corresponds to *ḻ*:—

lē-c 'to rise'=*eḻu*
tālimi 'endurance'=*tāḻmai*.

The equation therefore for Tel. is the following:—

ḻ=inscriptional *ḻ*, literary *ḍ*, *r*, *l*

TUḶU.

The folk-dialect of Tuḷu employs *r* corresponding to *ḻ*, while the Brahmins' sub-dialect uses *ḷ* (as in Kannaḍa). The former perhaps is connected with the change of *ḻ* to *r* in old Kannaḍa (see above) which change was not only preserved in Tuḷu forms like *parndu* 'ripe fruit', *arlu* 'grief', *er-p-* 'to raise', *arti* 'love', *purg-* 'to boil' *turlu* 'obeisance' [Kann. *tuḻil*], *kirdu* 'inferior' but also extended to forms in which syncope has failed to occur, as in folk-Tuḷu *kōri* 'fowl', *iri* 'to drop' [Tam., Kann. *iḻi*], *puri* 'worm', *būr-* 'to fall' [Kann. *bīḻ-*], *kari-* 'to be finished' [Kann. *kaḻi-*], *ori-p-* 'to be left over' [Kann. *oḻi-*, *uḻi-*].

The latter viz. *ḷ* for *ḻ* occurs in both the sub-dialects in a few words like *ēḷu* 'seven' [but folk-speech *erpa* 'seventy'], *hāḷu*

'waste' [cf. modern Kann. *hāḷu*], and in the Brahmins' sub-dialect in many forms, for which the folk-Tuḷu shows *r* [=*ḷ*], as in *kōḷi* 'fowl', *kaḷi-* 'to be finished', *poḷdu* 'time', *bāḷæ* 'plantain tree', *būḻ-* 'to fall', though even the Brahmins employ only forms with *r* in *parndu* 'ripe fruit', *nirelu* 'shade' [cf. modern Kann. *neraḷu*, older *neḻal*].

It is interesting to note that Tuḷu *korndu* 'tender stalk of coconut' [Tam., Mal. *koḻundu*], *cāræ, tāræ, tāḷæ* 'coconut tree' [cf. old Tam. *tāḻai* 'coconut tree' in Puṟanāṉūṟu, verse 17], *tarkōlu* 'key' [cf. Tam. *tāḻakkōl, tāḻkkōl*], *murku* 'completely' [cf. Tam. *muḻuka*] have (so far as I can see) counterparts with *ḻ* only in Tam.-Mal and not in Kannaḍa.

V.

INTER-DIALECTAL SOUND-CORRESPONDENCES.

Tam.	Mal.	Kann.	Tel.	Tuḷu.	Kūi.	Gōṇḍi.	Kurru-kh.	Malto.	Brāhūi
ḻ	*ḻ*	*ḻ, r, ḷ*	*ḍ, r, l*	*r, l*	*ṛ, ḍ, l*	*ṛ, r*	*l, y,* [*cc*], *r*	*l, y,* [*cc*]	*r*

VI.

UNIQUE *Ḻ* IN TAMIL.

I give below a list of words which show *ḻ* only in Tamil or in Tam. and in Mal. For unique *ḻ* in other speeches, see I above.

eḻud- 'to paint', 'to write'.—M.

eḻili 'cloud'

eḻil 'beauty'

aḻal 'foot', etc.—M.

kaḻum- 'to increase', etc.

kiḻakku 'east'.—M. The base is *kīḻ* 'below' [cf. my Dravidic paper on the cardinal directions in QJMS]. It is interesting to note that in *kūvi līk* means 'below' and 'east' white *kui* is both 'top' and 'west'.

kiḻamai 'claim, right', 'day of the week'.—old M. 'day of the week'

kiḻavaṉ 'owner', connected with the above.

kuḻandai 'child'

kuḻavi 'child'

ku̱lu, ku̱lām 'heap'
ku̱lal 'to be curled'.—cf. *kuṟuḷ-*
ko̱lundu 'tender sprout'.—Mal.—cf. also Tuḷu *korndu* and Gōṇḍi *kors-* 'to sprout out'
ko̱lunaṉ 'husband'.—cf. *koḷ-*
śā̱lal 'jumping'
śī̱l 'pus'.—cf. M. *śī*
ta̱lal 'fire'
to̱lu 'cattle pen'.—M. *to̱luttu*
to̱luḍi 'multitude'
na̱luṅg-, na̱luv-
pa̱ludu 'defect'.—M.
pi̱lai- 'to do wrong', 'to be emancipated' > 'to get on in life', 'to live'—M.
pū̱l 'owl'.—cf. *puḷ* 'bird'
mo̱li 'word, statement'.—M.
nā̱l 'day' for *nāḷ*
pē̱l-vāy for *peru-vāy* 'big mouth'
ma̱lu 'axe'—M.—cf. also Tuḷu *maḍu* and Gōṇḍi *mars*
po̱li- 'to be showered'.—M.—cf. Kann. *poyy-* 'to pour', Tel. *pōy-*, and Tam.—Mal. *pey-* 'to pour, as rain'
mē̱li 'ploughtail'—M.—cf. Kann. *mēṇi*, Tel. *mēṭi*.
mu̱lu-kk- 'to grow ripe'.—M.—cf. Kann., Tuḷu, Tel. *mugg-*
mu̱lu 'whole'.—M.
vi̱lā 'festival'.—old Mal.
vi̱lumai 'prosperity'
u̱li 'place', also a locative ending.—cf. *uḷ*
u̱luvam 'ant'
u̱luvaṉ 'tiger'
ū̱l- 'to grow mature'
ke̱lum- 'to be full, ripe'
ke̱li 'friendship'.—cf. *ki̱lai*
ca̱laṅ- 'to be loose'
nā̱l 'fault', 'pride', etc.
nū̱lil 'slaughter'.—cf. *nuṟu-k-*
piṟa̱l 'to be irregular'

The *l̠* of some of these words may be quite ancient, being connected with *l̠* of primaries, while in others the sound may have been derivative. The possibility of some instances of *ḷ* having

been a derivative from other sounds is suggested not only by the occurrence of instances in each of the dialects with unique *ḻ* not met with in other dialects but also by the adaptation of certain IA sounds as *ḻ* in Tamil and Kannaḍa *tadbhavas.* A few among the Tamil words with unique *ḻ* (in the above list) may have been even "disguised" adaptations of Sanskrit *tadbhavas.* It should, however, be clearly borne in mind that the possibility of some instances of *ḻ* having had a secondary origin separately in Tamil, Mal. and Kann. need not militate against the conceivable postulate that *ḻ* may have existed originally as a common Dr. sound in at least a few other words, even in those speeches which do not now show *ḻ*.

VII

THE SOUND Ḻ IN ADAPTATIONS FROM INDO-ARYAN.

Tamil.

IA *ḍ*:—*nāḻi* 'a period of 24 minutes'

pūḻi 'sacred ashes' 'dust' <*pūḍi* <IA *bhūti*—cf. Tel. *būḍi*

IA *ṣ*:—*uḻai* 'dawn'—IA *uṣā*

śuḻutti 'sleep'—IA *suṣupti*

kaluḻ 'to be stirred in mind'—IA *kaluṣa*

śēḻam 'seṣa'—IA *śēṣa*

anuḻam 'an asterism'—IA *anuṣa*

kiyāḻam 'decoction'—IA *kaṣāya*

IA l [through MIA *ḷ*]:—

śeḻūgam 'leech'.—IA *jalūka*

tuḻāy 'basil plant'.—IA *tulasi*

śāḻai—IA *śālā*

IA *r* [mostly of consonant groups]:—

amiḻdam 'nectar'.—IA *amṛta*

kāḻ 'seed'.—IA *karṣa*

kāḻ 'blackness' has been compared to IA *kāla;* but this word along with its cognates Kann. *kāḻ, kaḻ-tale* 'darkness' may be directly related to the base-group *kaṟu, kar-* 'black' represented in most Dravidian dialects [JMU]

Malayāḷam.

Many of the Tamil adaptations with *ḻ* are met with in Mal.; in addition, the following may also be noted:—

tā̲lkki [TAS, III, p. 35]—IA *sākṣi*
iraḻcc- [VAS, III, p. 165]—IA *rakṣ-*
tōḻcam 'evil' [TAS, III, p. 216 inscriptional].—IA *doṣa*
ilakkaṇaṉ 'Lakṣmaṇa'
kiriḻi.—IA *kṛṣi*
poḻutti 'work'.—IA *pravṛtti*
maḻi 'blackness' 'ink'—IA *maṣi*
tandōḻam 'gladness'—IA *santōṣa*
kaḻāyam 'decoction'—IA *kaṣāya*

Kannaḍa.

Sūtras 21, 257 and 281 of the 13th century grammar Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa deal with ḷ in adaptations from IA.

IA *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ*:—*gaḻige* 'a period of 24 minutes' [IA *ghaṭikā*]
dāḻi 'assault' [IA *dhāṭi*]
lāḻam [IA *lāṭam*]
happaḻa [IA *parpaṭa*]
akṣōḻa
pīḻige 'seat', 'preface' [IA *piṭhikā*]
maḻake 'small religious abode' [IA *maṭhika*]
nāḻi 'period of 24 minutes' [IA *nāḍi*]

IA *ḷ*:—*aguḻi* 'bolt', 'bar' [IA *argaḷa*]
mannaḻi [IA *manyāḷi*]
gaḻap- 'to chatter' [IA *galpa*]

IA *r*:—*paḻihattam* <*prati-hastam* 'each hand'
paḻipāvuge <*prati-pāduka* 'each shoe'
prati- appears also as *paḍi-* in Kann., as in MIA, and so *ḻ* of Kann. adaptations was perhaps directly evolved from *ḍ*
baḻduṅk , *barduṅk-*, *baduk* 'to increase', 'to prosper' 'to live' [cf. Tel. *baduk-*], ultimately connected with *vāl-* 'to prosper' of Tam., Mal. and Kann. [*bāḻ-*], seem to be very ancient adaptations of IA *vardh*[1]

1. Kannaḍa *pēḻ* 'to speak' and Tam. *pēś-* are certainly related; but the inter-connection is not clear. It may be suggested that the forms are ancient adaptations of IA *bhāṣ* with *ḻ* in Kannaḍa for *ṣ* and *ś* in Tamil [cf. the Tam. adaptations *pāśai*, *pāḻai* and *pāḍai* for IA *bhāṣā*]; but the vowel *-e-* cannot be explained with reference to *ā* of the IA word.

Generally speaking, it may be said that in south Dravidian adaptations with *ḻ* of IA words, *ḻ* stands for the cerebral consonants of IA, though in instances like Tam. *tuḻani* for IA *dhvani* and Mal. variant *cuḻa* for *cuva* [IA *svād*], IA cerebrals are not involved.

VIII.

Ḻ AND ITS RELATIVES.

The question of the history of the sound and its relationships to the cognate sounds particularly of central Indian and north Indian Dravidian dialects does not admit of a ready or easy answer in view of the comptete absence of materials illustrative of the past stages of the non-southern dialects and of the past history of the southern literary speeches beyond a certain limit. One treads on delicate ground in dealing with the problem even while outlining perspectives; but the different aspects have to be stated:—

(*a*)

The following features may point to the existence, in pre-literary Telugu, of at least some instances of *ḻ*- words; one has, however, to remember the caution that not all Tel. cognates of *ḻ*- words need necessarily have had an original *ḻ* and that some instances of unique *ḻ* may have been independent developments in the dialects concerned.

(i) The inscriptional instances of Tel., showing *ḻ* in words with the characteristic Tel. accent-shift, do raise the presumption that *ḻ* occurred in Tel. at a pre-literary period.

(ii) The literary cognates in Tel. of Tamil and Kann. words with *ḻ* are, many of them, derivative, as indicated by the presence of the suffixes and by the accent shift.

(*b*)

ḍ in Telugu appears to have occurred mostly in words which did not suffer accent-shift; but *ḍayy*- =*ḻayy*-; *ḍi-g*- 'to descend' =*iḻi*; *ḍebbadi* 'seventy' =*eḻbadu* are instances of this change in accent-shifted forms.

r occurs mostly in accent-shifted forms in which the *r* forms a consonant group with the initial consonant.

If Śrīmān Śarma's reading of the inscriptional *pḻōlnāṇḍu* [later *prōlnāḍu*] is correct, this is an instance in which original *ḻ* itself is involved in the accent-shift.

In a few Tel. forms without accent-shift, ṟ represents ḻ:—Tel. *koṟṟu* 'ploughshare'=Tam. *koḻu*; *puṟugu* 'worm'=Tam. *puḻu;* Tel. *koṟal* 'to shine'=inscriptional Tel. *koḻal-* [Addanki inscription] (if Śarma's suggestion of the meaning is accepted).

l in Tel. *lē-c-* may have cropped up through the intermediate stage *ḷ;* but for this we have no proof yet.

Whether *r* in old Kannaḍa variants like *erd-* beside *eḻd-* 'having risen', *bird-* beside *biḻd-* 'having fallen', *korbu* beside *koḻbu* 'fat' was connected in some way with the Tel. *r* or whether it was only a parallel sound in Kannaḍa (note, however, that there is no conspicuous accent-shift in the Kannaḍa forms as in Telugu) cannot now be determined.

The Tuḷu *r* is probably connected with the Kannaḍa, as in instances like Tuḷu *crp-* 'to raise' [Kann. *erb-* beside *eḻb-*], *artœ* [Kann. *arte, aḻte*], etc., but it seems to have been extended in folk Tuḷu to instances like *kuri* 'pit' [Kann. *kuḻi*], *kari-* 'to be finished' [Kann. *kaḻi-*] in which no syncope of syllables was active.

The change of ḻ > ḷ in the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuḷu is perhaps parallel to the Middle Kannaḍa change of older ḻ to ḷ.

(*c*)

As for the central Indian and northern dialects, nothing absolutely definite can be laid down.

The divergence of the sounds in Kui, Gōṇḍi, Kuṟu*kh* and Malto corresponding to ḻ is striking.

IX.

The results of my inquiry may be summed up thus:—(*a*) The sound ḻ occurs in Tamil and Mal. from the earliest known stages down to the present day, in old Kannaḍa, in pre-literary inscriptional Telugu and in Baḍaga (as an old sound and as a new development). Some of these speeches reveal a few unique instances of ḻ which are derivative from other sounds.

(*b*) In phonation, the sound is a "continuant" cerebral, as recognized expressly by the old indigenous grammars of Mal. and Kannaḍa and impliedly by some of the rules of Tamil grammars.

(*c*) The inter-dialectal sound-correspondences would stand thus:—Tam ḻ=communal coll. Tam. ḷ=Mal. ḻ=old Kann. ḻ (and

r)=Middle and Modern Kann. *ḷ*=incriptional Tel. *l̲*=literary Telugu *ḍ*, *r*, *l*,=Tuḷu *r* (and Brahmins' sub-dialect *ḷ*)=Kūi *r̲*, *ḍ*, *l*=Gōṇḍi *r̲*, *r*=Kur̲. *l*, *y* (and *cc*)=Brāhūi *r*.

(*d*) Even while recognizing that on the one hand some instances of *l̲* in Tamil, Mal. and Kann. may have been secondarily derived separately in these speeches from other sounds (cf. the treatment of IA sounds), and on the other hand that not all Telugu cognates of *l̲*- words of Tamil-Kannaḍa need have had an original *l̲*, one has to admit that at least a few words with *l̲* may have been common in south Dravidian.

PṚTHIVĪPATI I, VARAGUṆA AND APARĀJITA.

BY

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[In spite of all that has been written so far, the date of the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam still remains an unsolved problem. Scholars have assigned A. D. 880 to that event, basing on the last date of the Gaṅga prince, Pṛthivīpati I. But unfortunately this basis is shaky, since it is purely conjectural. An impartial scrutiny of all the relevant facts is therefore necessary, especially in the light of recent additions to our material.]

It was Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who, first stated that the latest known date of Pṛthivīpati I is A. D. 879. As early as 1917, he wrote in his " Pallavas " that the latest inscription of the reign of Pṛthivīpati I is dated A. D. 879, without citing the inscription itself or any other authority.[1] He naturally concludes that the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam must have been fought some time after that date. All the scholars, who have written about the history of the Pallavas and the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam merely followed the doctor, without questioning the authority for his statement, and have accepted the date given by him. In their opinion, the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam took place sometime about 879-880 A. D.[2]

The fact that a battle was fought at Śrīpuṟambiyam is mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates[3] of Pṛthivīpati II Hastimalla, issued in the 15th year, *i.e.*, A. D. 921 of Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari-

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1. G. J. Dubreuil—'The Pallavas', pp. 65 and 82.
2. *Ibid*, p. 82.
   R. Gopalan—'The Pallavas', p. 142.
   Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri—'The Cōḷas', p. 130.
3. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 380 ff.

varman Parāntaka I. These plates state that Pṛthivīpati I, the ally of the Pallava king Aparājita, defeated the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa and lost his life in the course of that fight, "having made his friend's title Aparājita significant". Hence, it is concluded that Pṛthivīpati, who was the son of the Gāṅga king Śivamāra, died in A. D. 880.

Pṛthivīpati I, according to the same authority, was the son of Śivamāra of the Gāṅga family, which is "said to have had for its ancestor the Sage Kaṇva". Hence, Śivamāra is identical with Śivamāra II, son of the Western Gāṅga king Śrīpuruṣa Muttaraśa, who, according to his regnal and Śaka year mentioned in his own grants[1], should be taken to have ascended the throne in A. D. 726[2]. The donor of the Udayēndiram plates is Pṛthivīpati II, son of Mārasiṁha and grandson of Pṛthivīpati I. Curiously enough none of the Western Gāṅga records mention this Pṛthivīpati or his descendants. They on the other hand, make Mārasiṁha, the son of Śivamāra II. The Ālūr grant[3] of A. D. 799 and the Maṇṇe plates[4] of 797 record gifts made by Mārasiṁha, while he was yet a Yuvarāja. Even this prince is not heard of in any other copper plate, or stone record of the Western Gāṅgas, the reason being perhaps his early death, even while yet a crown prince or Yuvarāja. Pṛthivīpati I also appears in a Bāṇa inscription[5] at Tiruvallam, where he was mentioned as the father of Vāṇamahādevī, wife of Vāṇavidyādhara. Thus, the existence of Pṛthivīpati I[6] and Mārasiṁha, alleged to be the sons

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1. Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Mg. 36.
   Ep. Carn., Vol. IV, Ng. 85.

2. In my paper on 'The Chronology of the later Pallavas' I have given the date A. D. 725, by counting his regnal years as expired ones; but it is wrong. They have to be taken as current.

3. Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1924, p. 72.

4. Ep. Carn., Vol. IX, Nl. 60.

5. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 92.

6. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 248. The Udayēndiram plates state that Pṛthivīpati I rendered assistance to two chiefs, named Iriga and Nāgadanta, the sons of king Diṇḍi, and defended the former of these two against king Amōghavarṣa (A. D. 814-15 to 876-77). Now, in an epitaph of Ariṣṭanēmi at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, occurs one Diṇḍika, whom Mr. R. Narasimhachariar identified with king Diṇḍi of the Udayēndiram plates.

of Śivamāra II, is revealed by the Udayēndiram plates, the Tiruvallam inscription, Maṇṇe plates and the Ālūr grant.

Śrīpuruṣa's rule ends with A. D. 775, if 50, the latest regnal year supplied by his own grants, is taken as the last year of his rule. On the other hand if Śrīpuruṣa Muttaraśa of the lithic record[1] dated Śaka 710 from Halkūr, Sira taluq, is identical with the Western Gāṅga king Śrīpuruṣa Muttaraśa, as is contended by some scholars, then A. D. 788 would be the last year of his rule. Of the two, whichever date is accepted, there is a difference of nearly a century between the last years of Śrīpuruṣa and Pṛthivīpati, the grandfather and grandson respectively, which seems to be quite extraordinary. Could there be generally such an abnormal difference between grandfather and grandson, *i.e.*, only for two generations? I am aware of a few such instances. As a matter fact, the history of the later Pallavas provides us with an example of this kind. The lithic and copper plate records of three consecutive generations of Pallava kings from Nandivarman II to Nandivarman III show that the interval between the last regnal years of these two monarchs is more than a century. But one must admit that such cases are very rare. In this case no such evidence exists. The Udayēndiram plates — our only authority on the subject — mention three generations of the Gāṅga kings, without giving any indication of the length of each king's reign or the total duration of their rule. Until some fresh evidence is forthcoming to indicate the probable length of the intervening period between Śrīpuruṣa and Pṛthivīpati, the date 880 cannot be assigned with certainty to the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam, and cannot be accepted as the last date of Pṛthivīpati I, son of Śivamāra II.

He writes in the Mysore, Archaeological Report for 1909-10 as follows: "My identification has since been approved by Dr. Hultzsch, who now takes Diṇḍika as the actual name of the son of Śivamāra II and Pṛthivīpati as an epithet". Really it is beyond my comprehension how Dr. Hultzsch identifies Diṇḍika (or Diṇḍi) with Pṛthivīpati I, son of Śivamāra II. The Udayēndiram plates, as I understand them, do not allow or support such an identification.

1. Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1918, p. 44.

The same kind of abnormality will become evident, if this question is reviewed from another point of view with the help of the Takkōlam inscription of Rājakēsarivarman, dated in his 24th regnal year. No scholar entertains any doubt regarding the identity of Rājakēsarivarman of this record with Āditya I. With the help of this record, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar fixes A. D. 870-71 as the year of Āditya's accession to the throne, having selected one of the two dates 894 and 895, both of which satisfy the astronomical details mentioned in the record. There being no solar eclipse in the month of Āṉi for several years running, no date satisfies the astronomical details mentioned in that record between 895 and 907, the latter being the date of Parāntaka's accession to the throne. Although the date A. D. 885 also answers the details satisfactorily, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar rejects it as it would give Āditya a long reign of 45 years (from 862 to 907), assuming that his rule came to an end before the commencement of his son's reign in 907 A. D. On the same assumption, he could not select a suitable date after 907.

Pritipatiyār, the son of Māramarāyar, whose gift is registered in the Takkōlam record[1], has been identified with Pṛthivīpati II, son of Mārasiṁha. This identification has been approved of by all scholars. So then, the interval between Pṛthivīpati I and his grandson Pṛthivīpati II, is only fourteen or fifteen years, if the years 880 and 894 or 895 are accepted as the dates of Pṛthivīpati I's death and of the Takkōlam record respectively. The latter date cannot be rejected, since it satisfies the astronomical details mentioned therein. So the mistake can only be with the date 880. The acceptance of this date (A. D. 880) involves the prolongation to an abnormal length, of the intervening period between Śrīpuruṣa and Pṛthivīpati I and reduction to its narrowest limits of the intervening period between Pṛthivīpati I and Pṛthivīpati II. These apparent abnormalities are the outcome of the acceptance of A. D. 880 as the correct date of the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam in which Pṛthivīpati I lost his life. Therefore, A. D. 880 cannot be accepted without fresh confirmatory evidence, as the correct date of the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam, or of the death of Pṛthivīpati I.

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 81.

II

How was this date 880 assigned to Pṛthivīpati I? As has been noted already, Dr. Dubreuil did not cite any authority for his statement[1]. Mr. Gopalan, the author of "the Pallavas", also takes it for granted that Pṛthivīpati I lived until 880, the date assigned by him to the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam.[2] But he cites two undated inscriptions[3] of the last year of rule (*i.e.*, 26th regnal year) of Nṛpatuṅga from Āmbūr, to show that Pṛthivīpati I was alive until the last year of Nṛpatuṅga's rule These inscriptions record the death of a servant of Pirudigaṅgarāyar when the ruler of Nuḻambappāḍi attacked Āṉmaiyūr. Mr. Gopalan accepts the view of Dr. Hultzsch, the editor of these inscriptions, that Pirudigaṅgarāyar, mentioned therein is no other than Pṛthivīpati I. But until and unless the accession date of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla is determined, there is no possibility of ascertaining the English date equivalent of the 26th year of rule of Nṛpatuṅga. It seems that Dr. Dubreuil has arrived at the date 879 by accepting Dr. Hultzsch's identification and by taking 717 A. D. as the initial year of rule of Nandivarman II.

But let us see if the date of the Āmbūr records of Nṛpatuṅga could be determined in any other way. An inscription[4] from Mallam, Nellore District, of the 15th regnal year of Nandivarman II records a gift of gold for the maintenance of a lamp, made by the people of Peyyūrkōṭṭam, the headmen of the villages and the members of the assemblies acting as the āṇatis

1. I do not know if Dr. Dubreuil followed Gopinatha Rao, who tentatively took A. D. 878 as the last date for Pṛthivīpati I in his paper on 'Six Pallava Inscriptions', published in the Journal of the South Indian Association, 1910, (Oct.). Gopinatha Rao cited as his authority, the table given on page 59 of Ep. Ind., Vol. VI. This table, to which he refers, was given by Dr. Fleet, while editing "Three Western Gāṅga Records in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore"—(Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 40 ff.). Dr. Fleet, according to his own crucial tests, examined the Western Gāṅga records and formulated a geneological table (given on page 59), wherein he roughly noted the period of rule of each king. He placed "Aparājita Pṛthivīpati", son of Śivamāra II ("about 805-810") "in the period 814-15 to 878-9",

2. R. Gopalan—"The Pallavas", p. 142.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV. pp, 182-83.

4. Nel. Ins., Vol. I, Gudur. 54, p. 429,

or the executors of Cāḷukiaraśar, on the petition of an Āḷuparaśar. I agree with Dr. N. Venkataramanayya[1] in identifying the Cāḷukiaraśar with Vikramāditya II, and of Āḷuparaśar with his Āḷupa subordinate. On the strength of these identifications, it is easy to conclude that the invasion of Vikramāditya II had taken place in the 15th year of rule of Nandivarman II. A. D. 733 and 746 being the initial and the last years of the rule of Vikramāditya II, the 15th regnal year of Nandivarman II should fall within that period. Thus Nandivarman's initial year of rule must fall between the year 719, if his 15th year coincides with 733 and 732, if that year coincides with 746, reckoning the regnal years as current. If they are taken to be expired years, it falls between 718 and 731. So, the date of Āmbūr records would be either 880 or 883 as the regnal years are reckoned as current or expired. Thus the dates 880 and 883 are the lowest limits to which Nṛpatuṅga's reign could go, if we calculate from 719 or 718. Thus it has to be recognised that it is impossible to take the end of Nṛpatuṅga's reign earlier than A. D. 880. Perhaps it has to be placed even later. It follows from this that the 26th year of Nṛpatuṅga coincides with at least A. D. 880 or more probably with a date still later. Since Pṛthivīpati mentioned in the Āmbūr records of Nṛpatuṅga's 26th regnal year *i.e.*, A. D. 880 (possibly later), and Pṛthivīpati II, son of Māramarāyar mentioned in the Takkōlam record (assigned to 894 or 895 A. D.) are separated from each other only by a short interval of about 15 years, it is not unreasonable to hold that they are identical. If this identification be accepted, it is impossible that the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam could have been fought in A. D. 880. Therefore, this date has to be rejected.

As a matter of fact, I have taken into account the Bāṇa inscription[2] from Tiruvallam. As this inscription which is dated Śaka 810, contains no reference to the Pallava over-lord of Kāñcī, I believe with Dr. Hultzsch and others, that the Bāṇas ruled independently, perhaps from the time of Vijayāditya II Prabhumēru, son of Vikramāditya I Bāṇavidyādhara Jayamēru, who remained a subordinate of Nandivarman III and his son Nṛpatuṅga.[3]

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1. Ante. Vol. VIII, p. 3.

2. S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 44, p. 95.

3. This is indicated by the Tiruvallam inscription of the 17th year of Nandivarman III (S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 92, No. 43)

In my scheme of 'the later Pallava Chronology' I have taken into account figures, indicating the latest regnal years of the Pallava kings that are mentioned in their inscriptions. As the latest regnal year of Nṛpatuṅga, found in his inscriptions is 26, his date of accession to the throne was fixed in A. D. 862 by subtracting 26 from A. D. 888. But strictly the number that has to be subtracted is 25 and not 26, for, if the latter figure is taken into account, it implies that those regnal years are expired ones, *i.e.*, they are counted from the expiry of the first year of rule. This does not seem to have been the usual Indian practice even in ancient times. It was and is customery to count the first year of the reign of any king from the first day of his accession to the throne and not from the date of its expiry. This is well illustrated by the chronology of the Eastern Cāḷukyās of Vēṅgi.[1] Therefore it is proper to reckon the regnal years as current in settling the chronology of the later Pallavas. I, therefore, revise my scheme of their chronology, as shown below[2]:—

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and by the Guḍimallam inscription of the 23rd year of Nṛpatuṅga (Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 224 ff). Thus I proved that A. D. 888 must be the last year of the rule of Nṛpatuṅga in my paper, on "The Chronology of the later Pallavas".

1. Ante. Vol., IX, pp. 17-45.

2. This revised scheme makes it evident that I do not adhere any more to the evidence of the Kuliḍikki inscription of the 52nd regnal year of Nandivarman II, which was the basis of my former scheme, worked out from the point of view of the history of the Western Gāṅgas of Talakāḍ. I recognise now that that inscription does not yield the interpretation, which I have forced on it.

But yet, I adhere to the date A. D. 775 as the last year of the rule of Śrīpuruṣa Muttaraśa, the Western Gāṅga king. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya accepts A. D. 788 as the last date of that king but yet identifies Gōvinda, who anointed Śivamāra II to the throne, with Gōvinda III, son of Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa. Let us see if this identification is tenable.

Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa I ruled till A. D. 772, if not longer (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 121 ff). Govinda II, his eldest son, succeeded him on the throne. This fact is proved by the two undated lithic records from Challakeṟe (Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Cl. 33 and 34),

Nandivarman II	...	...	A. D.	727 — 791
Dantivarman	...	...	"	791 — 841
Nandivarman III	...	...	"	841 — 863
Nṛpatuṅga	..	...	"	863 — 888

If this scheme is accepted, then the difference between A. D. 888, the date of the Āmbūr records of Nṛpatuṅga, and 894 or 895 the date of the Takkōlam inscription of Āditya I, diminishes to six or seven years. Therefore, the identity proposed in a former context, of Pṛthivīpati mentioned in the former records with

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which mention Gōvinda II with all his royal titles. He was the ruler of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom even in A. D. 779. The Dhūlia plates of Karka, dated 779 A. D. (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 182 ff.) definitely state that the then-reigning king was Gōvinda II. Although Dhruva, his younger brother was issuing charters in his own name much earlier than A. D. 779(Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 85 ff.), it has to be supposed that the entire Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom did not come into his possession till after A. D. 779. Dhruva was still the ruling sovereign, when the Daulatabad plates were issued in A. D. 793 by Samarāvalōka Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Nanna, with the express consent of his over-lord Kalivallabha Narēndradēva or Dhruva Nirupama. The earliest charter of Gōvinda III, namely his Paithan grant, is dated Śaka 716 or A. D. 794. As a matter of fact his Maṇṇe plates (Jour. Myth. Soc., Vol. XIV, p. 88 ff.) give the Śaka year together with his regnal year. They were issued in Śaka 732 in the 18th year of his reign. So, it is beyond doubt that he came to the throne in A. D. 792-3. It is thus clear that Dhruva, the father of Gōvinda III was ruling till that date.

The date A. D. 788 of Śrīpuruṣa Muttaraśa falls during the reign of Dhruva but not of his son, Gōvinda III. During the reign of Dhruva, Śivamāra II was in prison. If he was anointed to the throne, it should have been immedialely after the death of Śrīpuruṣa Muttaraśa. If his death is taken to have occured in A. D. 788, there is no Gōvinda, who could have acted as the crowned king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line who anointed Śivamāra II. Therefore, Gōvinda of the Ālūr and the Maṇṇe grants of Mārasiṁha has to be identified with Gōvinda II, and not with Gōvinda III. Thus, if it is admitted that the anointment was done by Gōvinda II, then the date A. D. 788 as Śrīpuruṣa's last year has to be rejected (*Vide*, My paper on—'The Chronology of the later Pallavas' in the Commemoration Volume of Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu's 70th birth day celebration).

Pṛthivīpati II of the latter record, becomes a certainty. Hence 880 cannot be the last date of Pṛthivīpati I or of the date of the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam. This event should necessarily have taken place earlier still, since Pṛthivīpati I must have lived long before his grandson Pṛthivīpati II, the vassal of Nṛpatuṅga. In that case, who could be the Varaguṇa mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthivīpati II as being the vanquished Pāṇḍya opponent of Aparājita ?

III

The early history of the Pāṇḍyas is being reconstructed mainly with the help of four copper-plate grants, namely (1) the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant[1], (2) the Bigger Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates[2], (3) the Madras Museum plates[3], (4) and the Smaller Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates[4],

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Thus, the present scheme does not contradict or disturb what I have written from "the Rāṣṭrakūṭa point of view". The Dhūlia plates escaped my notice when I was writing my previous paper. These plates extend the reign of Gōvinda II from A. D. 772 to at least A. D. 779. Dhruva must have been in possession of his paternal kingdom about 779 or 780 A. D., instead of in 775, as has been stated in my previous paper. So the change in the chronology does not affect in any way the points, which I have brought to bear on this question while dealing with it from "the Rāṣṭrakūṭa point of view".

Even though the consideration of the chronology of the later Pallavas "from the point of view of the history of the Gāṅgas" is thus set aside, yet I have the satisfaction that that section helps the reader much in the elucidation of the Gāṅga, Pallava and Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations, during the reign of Śrīpuruṣa Muttaraśa.

The tentative chronology of the Bāṇas also, given in the section, entitled 'the Bāṇa point of view' in my previous paper, requires a little modification as shown below :—

Nandivarman	A. D. 788 — 802
Vijayāditya	„ 802 — 839
Malladēva	„ 839 — 857
Bāṇavidyādhara Jayamēru Vikramāditya I	„ 857 — 888
Vijayāditya II Prabhumēru ..	„ 888 — 910

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 291 ff.
2. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 441 ff.
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 57 ff.
4. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 441 ff.

besides a few lithic records of the Pāṇḍya kings. The Smaller Śiṉṉamaṉūr inscription is incomplete, since some of the plates are missing. The language of these grants is partly Sanskrit and partly Tamil. Both the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions describe the pedigree of the donors.

The Smaller Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates contain only two verses in Sanskrit, of which one is an invocation to god Puruṣōttama and the other a benediction on Candravaṁśa, in which the Pāṇḍya kings were born. The Tamil portion of the extant plates furnishes only three generations of kings, *viz.*, Jayanta, Māṟavarman who had the titles Arikesari, Asamasaman etc., and his son, who was the victor in the battles at Marudūr and Kuvaḷaimalai, whose name is not known owing to the loss of plates. Though the Sanskrit portion of the Madras Museum plates gives two generations of kings, Māṟavarman the Pallavabhañjana, and his son Jaṭilavarman without describing their achievements, the Tamil portion mentions only the donor of the plates, Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ (who is identical with Jaṭila of the Sanskrit portion), and recounts all his titles, the battles he had won, and the kings he had defeated. This grant was issued in the 17th year of his rule. Thus the importance of the first two of the above mentioned grants, namely the Vēḷvikkuḍi and the Bigger Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates, which give a more complete peidigree, extending over larger number of generations than the Madras Museum or the Smaller Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates, cannot be over estimatated for purposes of the early history of the Pāṇḍyas. While the Tamil portion of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant describes fully seven generations of kings, the Sanskrit portion mentions but four generations; and these are identical with the last four of the Tamil portion. Though the number of generations, described both in the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions of the Bigger Śiṉṉa-maṉūr plates is the same, the latter gives a fuller account than the former, of the first generation and of three out of the last four generations. The pedigree supplied by the Tamil and the Sanskrit portions of these two sets of plates are given below in a tabular form, for convenience of study.

VĒḶVIKKUḌI PLATES.		BIGGER SINNAMANŪR PLATES.	
Tamil portion.	*Sanskrit portion.*	*Sanskrit portion.*	*Tamil portion.*
I.* Kaḍuṅgōṉ (1)†			
II. Avanīcūḷāmaṇi Māṟavarmaṉ (2)			
III. Śeḻiyaṉ Vāṉavaṉ Śēndaṉ (3)			
IV. Arikēsari Asamasamaṉ Māṟavarmaṉ (4) (won a battle at Nelvēli)	IV. Māravarman (4)	VI. Arikēsari (4)	VI. Parāṅkuśa (4) (won a battle at Nelvēli)
V. Śaḍaiyaṉ (2) (won a victory at Marudūr; defeated the Mahārathās at Maṅgalāpura.)	V. Raṇadhīra (5)	VII. Jaṭila (5)	VII. × (5)
VI. Māṟaṉ (6) (won a victory at Koḍumbāḷūr; crushed the Pallava at Kuḻumbūr and at Periyalūr; conquered Maḻa-Koṅgam and contracted relationship with Gaṅgarāja.)	VI. Māṟavarman (6) Rājasiṁha (Defeated Pallavamalla)	VIII. Rājasiṁha (6)	VIII. Rājasiṁha (6)

*The Roman figures indicate the geneological scheme adapted by V. Venkayya and H. Krishna Sastri.

†The Arabic numerals indicate the geneological scheme as reconstructed by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri.

VII. Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan̲ (7)
(Defeated the Kāḍava king at Peṇṇāgaḍam. Donor: Issued the charter in his third regnal year.)

VIII. Parāntaka Jaṭila (7)

IX. Varaguṇa (7)

IX. Varaguṇa (7)

X. Śrīmār̲a (8)
(conquered Māya Pāṇḍya, King of Siṁhaḷa, the Pallava and the Vallabha)

X. Paracakrakōlāhala (8)
(Fought successful battles at Kuṇṇūr, Siṅgaḷam and Viḻiñam; defeated the Gaṅga, Pallava, Cōḷa etc. at Kuḍamūkkil)

XI. Varaguṇa. (9)

XII. Parāntaka (10)
(won a battle at Kharagiri)

XI. Varaguṇa. (9)

(10)
XII. Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan.
(Destroyed Peṇṇāgaḍam, fought at Kharagiri, Śeṇṇiḷam etc.)

XIII. Rājasiṁha (11)

XIII. Rājasiṁha (11)
(Defeated the lord of Tañjai)
(Donor; Issued the charter in his 16th regnal year.

MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES

Sanskrit portion.	*Tamil Portion*
Māravarman (Pallavabhañjana) | Jaṭilavarman	Neḍuñjaḍaiyan̲ (Won victories at Viṇṇam, Śēḷiyakkuḍi and Vollore, defeated Adiyan̲ and his enemy's allys Pallava and Kēraḷa; captured the king of western Koṅgu, conquered Āyiravēli on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri. Donor; Issued the charter in his 17th regnal year)

SMALLER ŚIN̲N̲AMAN̲ŪR PLATES.

Tamil Portion.

Jayantavarman̲
|
Arikēsari Asamasaman̲
|
×
(Won battles at Marudūr and Kuvaḷaimalai).

Considerable difference of opinion exists among scholars about the correct method of combining the pedigrees, furnished by the Vēḷvikkuḍi and the Bigger Śin̲n̲aman̲ūr plates, into a single continuous geneology. The absence of any account of the first four kings of the Bigger Śin̲n̲aman̲ūr plates and of the name of Varaguṇa in the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates, makes it difficult to identify the kings of one set with those of the other. This difficulty is further enhanced partly by the dearth of lithic records of these early kings to help us in verifying the results, and partly by the findings of the late V. Venkayya in his comparitive study of the paleography of the grants. But the test of paleography is not infallible. The late H. Krishna Sastri, while editing the Vēḷvikkuḍi and the Śin̲n̲aman̲ūr plates (Bigger and Smaller) differed from Venkayya as to the date of these records on the same grounds of paleography, but he adhered to the provisional geneology of 13 generations given by him in the annual report on Epigraphy for 1908. No reconsideration was urged, nor any reconstruction attempted of the early

Pāṇḍyan geneology, until Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri came forth with a new scheme, reducing the old geneology to eleven generations, in his history of "The Pāṇḍyas". It is unnecessary for me to reiterate here his reasons for adopting such a scheme, or the criticism he levelled against Krishna Sastri's arguments in support of his scheme. He reviewed again the whole position regarding this question at greater length, in a paper recently contributed to the Journal of Indian History.[1]

The adoption of the old scheme of thirteen generations involves an unnecessary duplication of Arikēsaris, and triplication of Rājasiṁhas and Varaguṇas, including a Varaguṇa, who is a Māṟañjaḍaiyan̲; and we have also to assume two battles of Nelvēli, for which there is no warrant at all. This seems on the face of it incongruous. Of the four grants, so far discovered, the Smaller Śin̲n̲aman̲ūr plates being incomplete, should be left out of consideration. Of the remaining three, two grants, the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and the Madras Museum plates, which mention Māṟan̲, alias Māṟavarman̲ Rājasiṁha, a contemporary of Pallavamalla, are silent about his title Arikēsari. In this connection it has to be borne in mind that many lithic records of the early Pāṇḍyas bring to light a Varaguṇa, who is a Māṟañjaḍaiyan̲ (Śaḍaiyan̲ son of Māṟan̲). If, on the strength of this evidence, Parāntaka, Jaṭila or Neḍuñjaḍaiyan̲, son of Māṟan̲, alias Rājasiṁha, the seventh king of the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates, is identified with Varaguṇa (I), son of Rājasiṁha, the fourth king of the Bigger Śin̲n̲aman̲ūr plates, then it is evident that both the sets agree well with each other and a combination of the pedigrees mentioned therein gives a complete geneology of the early Pāṇḍyas, from Kaḍuṅgōn̲ to Rājasiṁha II, the last king of the dynasty, who was defeated and slain by the Cōḷa king Parāntaka I. These considerations urge me to accept the Professor's scheme, since it seems to be the only sound geneological frame work, into which the pedigrees given by the four grants could be conveniently and correctly fitted in.

Now, let us turn to chronology. The early Pāṇḍya lithic records so far discovered, are not many in number. They belong to Parāntaka, Māṟañjaḍaiyan̲ alias Pāṇḍyakulādhipati Varaguṇa, Avanīpaśegaran̲ Śrīvalluvan̲ (*i.e.*, Śiruvallabha), Śaḍaiyamāran Śrīvalluvan̲ (*i.e.*, Śrīvallabha and Śaḍaiyamāṟan̲). Parān-

1. Vol. XI. part I.

taka[1] has been accepted to be identical with Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, whose latest year of rule, known from his records is fortythree[2]. Even though an inscription[3] of a Pāṇḍya king Avaṉīpaśēgaraṉ, called Śiruvalluvaṉ (*i.e.*, Śrīvallabha) was discovered as early as 1904 at Śittaṉṉavāśal, his identity with any of the known Pāṇḍya kings, mentioned either in the Vēḷvikkuḍi or the Bigger Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates could not be established until 1930, when he was rightly identified by the Epigraphy department with Śrīvallabha Śrīmāṟa Paracakrakōlāhala[4]. In that year, an inscription[5] of Śaḍaiyaṉ Māṟaṉ Śrīvallabha, dated in his eighteenth regnal year was copied by the Madras Epigraphy Department at Erukkaṅguḍi (Śāttūr taluq, Ramanad District). This inscription states that the king won victories in several battles from Kuṉṉūr to Śiṅgaḷam, both of which, Śrīmāṟa Paracakrakōlāhala, son of Māṟaṉjaḍaiyaṉ (Varaguṇa I) is said to have conquered in the Bigger Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates. The same Erukkaṅguḍi record recounts several acts of public good,done by Ēṭṭi Śāttaṉ, on whom the king conferred the title Iruppaikkuḍikiḻavaṉ. Since Iruppaikkuḍikiḻavaṉ is mentioned as the renewer of an embankment with a stone basement and the constructor of a sluice to a tank, thereafter known as Kiḻavaṉeri, in a grant[6] of Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ of the sixteenth year of his rule, the latter is taken to be identical with Śaḍaiyamāraṉ Śrīvallabha. On the strength of the afore-said facts I identify Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ, whose records bear evidence to his 46th year of rule[7], with Śrīmāṟa Paracakrakōlāhala, otherwise known as Avanīpaśēgaraṉ Śiruvalluvaṉ and Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ Śrīvallabha. Thus Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ (Māṟaṉ son of Śaḍaiyaṉ) becomes the son of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ (Śaḍaiyaṉ son of Māṟaṉ).

There are some lithic records[8] of Varaguṇa, which do not mention the name Māṟaṉjaḍaiyaṉ at all. Since Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ is also known to be Varaguṇa, all these records are generally attributed to the former. I believe that this is wrong, because a

1. Ep. Coll., No. 454-1906; Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 317 ff.
2. Ep. Coll., No. 603-1915.
3. Ep. Coll., No. 368-1904.
4. Ep. Rep. for 1930, p. 74.
5. Ep. Coll., No. 334-1930.
6. Ep. Coll., No. 335-1930.
7. Ep. Coll., No. 440-1907.
8. Ep. Coll., Nos. 17-1907; 705-1905; 155-1903: 105-1905; 185-1926.

glance at the early Pāṇḍyan geneological scheme makes it clear that a Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ may be a Varaguṇa; but all Varaguṇas are not Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉs. Since most of the records of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ[1] mention him by that name, and only a few give him in addition, his other name Varaguṇa, it seems plausible to suggest that he prided more in calling himself Śaḍaiyaṉ, son of his worthy father Māṟaṉ or Māṟavarmaṉ Rājasiṁha, the hero of many battles and the conqueror of many forts. Hence I attribute all these records, which do not mention the name Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ at all, to Varaguṇa II, son of Śrīmāṟa Paracakrakōlāhala, whose latest regnal year is known to be eighteen from his records.[2]

Thus the inscriptions, that have been brought to light so far represent three generations of the early Pāṇḍya kings, namely (1) Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, alias Varaguṇa I (2) his son Śrīmāṟa Śrīvallabha Paracakrakōlāhala and (3) his grandson Varaguṇa II. With these preliminary observations about the records of the early Pāṇḍyas let us proceed to consider their chronology.

Of the early Pāṇḍyan records, the Ānamalai inscription[3] of Parāntaka, dated in the Kaliyuga year 3871 (A. D. 770) and the Aivarmalai inscription[4] of Varaguṇa II of his eighth regnal year, dated Śaka 792 (A. D. 870), which yeilds A. D. 863 as the initial

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1. It is possible to attribute some of the inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ to Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyaṉ, provided it is not stated that Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ also bore the title Varaguṇa. But no record with a regnal year later than 25 or 30 can be attributed to him for the following reasons. We definitely know that Varaguṇa II's rule ended in A. D 880. We also know that Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa's son Rājasiṁha II's reign must have come to an end at least by A. D. 920. Since the Bigger Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates are issued in his 16th (14+2) regnal year it follows even assuming that Rājasiṁha II ruled for only 16 years ending with A. D. 920, that Vīranārāyaṇa his father and brother of Varaguṇa II could not have ruled longer than 25 years commencing from A. D. 880. So it is clear that we cannot possibly attribute to him any record, dated in any regnal year higher than 25.

2. Ep. Coll., No. 185-1926.

The regnal year 32 (17-1907) given in Mr. V. Rangachaṟi's topographical list of inscriptions of the Madras Presidency (Vol. II, Tanjore Dt., p. 128 No. 381) is wrong. It should be either 4 ([3]+1) or 14 ([13]+1).

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 317, ff.

4. Ep. Coll., No. 705-1905.

year of his rule, are very important in as much as they form the bedrock of the foundation, over which the edifice of the early Pāṇḍya chronology has to be raised. If the date A. D. 863 is taken to be the basis of our calculation, then, with the help of the latest regnal years known from the records of each king calculating backwards, we arrive at the dates A. D. 818 and A. D. 776 as the initial years of rule of Śaḍaiya Māṟan̲ Śrīvallabha and his father Māṟañjaḍaiyan̲, alias Varaguṇa I respectively; and consequently A. D. 880 becomes the last year of the rule of Varaguṇa II. But since the date of Parāntaka's inscription is A. D. 770, this year should either coincide with the initial year of his rule or fall within his reign. We shall make an attempt to fix the initial year of his reign more definitely.

Fortunately we have two inscriptions with the name Māṟañjaḍaiyan̲, dated in his 13th regnal year; one of them from Tiruveḷḷarai[1] and the other from Lālguḍi[2]. They furnish us with some details for calculation. The inscription from Tiruveḷḷarai records a gift of gold to the temple of Tiruvan̲n̲ikal Perumānaḍigaḷ at Tiruveḷḷarai by the king on Monday, Aśvati, in the month of Vṛścika, and the one from Lālguḍi registers another gift, by the same king, on Tuesday, Śatayam, in the month of Dhanus. Now the latest time limit, within which the English date-equivalent for the details mentioned in these two records, has to be found is A. D. 818, supposed to be the initial year of rule of Śrīmāṟa Śrīvallabha, son of Māṟañjaḍaiyan̲. The earliest time-limit is A. D. 770, if it were to be taken as Māṟañjaḍaiyan̲'s initial year. Between these two dates, a date corresponding to the thirteenth year of Māṟañjaḍaiyan̲ should be found satisfying the details mentioned in the records of Tiruveḷḷarai and Lālguḍi. The dates that satisfy the required conditions within this period are given below[3]:

Date of Tiruveḷḷarai inscription.	Date of Lālguḍi inscription.
A.D. 780, Nov., 13th, Monday	780, Dec., 5th. Tuesday.
„ 787, Oct., 29th, Monday	787, Dec., 18th, Tuesday.
„ 790, Oct., 25th, Monday	790, Dec., 14th, Tuesday.

1. Ep. Coll., No. 84-1910.
2. Ep. Coll., No. 121-1928-29; Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 47.
3. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris'.

,, 797, Nov., 6th, Monday	797, Nov., 28th, Tuesday.
,, 807, Nov., 15th, Monday	807, Dec., 7th, Tuesday.
,, 814, Oct., 30th, Monday	814, Dec., 19th, Tuesday.
,, 817, Oct., 26th, Monday	817, Dec., 15th, Tuesday.

Out of these dates the second date must be left out of consideration; for if we accept it, it yields 775 as the initial year of rule of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ. Since he is known to have been ruling in A. D. 770, he could not have commenced his rule five years later. If however we recede a little from 787, the first date 780 satisfies all the conditions. So the dates of the Tiruveḷḷarai and the Lālguḍi inscriptions are November 13th Monday, and December 5th, Tuesday of A. D. 780[1].

If A. D. 780 is selected as the date of Tiruveḷḷarai and Lālguḍi records, A. D. 768 becomes the initial year of rule of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, thus giving him altogether a rule of 51 years, till 818 A. D. This does not seem to be improbable, since his inscriptions range till his 43rd regnal year. If the identity of Parāntaka with Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, alias Varaguṇa I and of Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ with Śrīmāṟa Śrīvallabha is approved, then there is no other alternative except to admit that the accession of Varaguṇa I took place in A. D. 768. Thus, the chronological scheme of the early Pāṇḍyas from Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ may be put forth as shown below[2].

Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ or Varaguṇa I ...	A. D. 768 - 818
Śrīmāṟa Śrīvallabha Paracakrakōlāhala	,, 818 - 863
Varaguṇa II	,, 863 - 880
Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa and his son Māṟavarmaṉ Rājasiṁha ..	,, 880 - 920

Who then, is the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa, who figures as the donor in the Tiruvaḍi inscription[3] of the eighteenth year of

1. But it must be noted here that on the 13th of November the civil day begins with Aśvati, but not so on the 5th of December. On this day, Śatayam, not being current at sunrise, was f. d. n. (following day's nakṣatra). It comes during the course of Tuesday at the end of Dhaniṣṭhā at ·48 of the day, *i.e.* after gh. 28, p. 48 after mean sunrise.

2. It is very interesting to note that Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's chronological scheme almost tallies with my scheme, with a difference of only a few years (*Vide*, his paper on 'The Early Pāṇḍyan Chronology'), published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI, part I).

3. Ep. Coll., No. 360-1921.

the rule of Nṛpatuṅga, equivalent to A. D. 872, assuming, for the nonce, that 880 A. D. is his final year? It is not difficult to identify him with Varaguṇa II, a contemporary of Pṛthivīpati, mentioned in the Āmbūr records of Nṛpatuṅga. If Varaguṇa, who was the opponent of Pṛthivīpati and his over-lord Aparājita, in the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam is identified with Varaguṇa II, then a later date than A. D. 880 has to be assigned to that battle, which would bring it still nearer to Pṛthivīpati II, rather than to his grandfather Pṛthivīpati I. If Nṛpatuṅga's vassal Pṛthivīpati is identical with Pṛthivīpati II, who was a contemporary of Varaguṇa II, then the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa, with whom Pṛthivīpati I fell fighting in the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam, must necessarily have been Varaguṇa I (Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ). Without any necessity for such suppositions and deductions, the records of Varaguṇa II clearly suggest that his rule came to an end eighteen years after he had ascended the throne, *i.e.*, in A. D. 880, in which case he should have been a contemporary of Pṛthivīpati II rather than of Pṛthivīpati I. Therefore, the conclusion is inevitable that Varaguṇa of the Śrīpuṟambiyam battle should have been Varaguṇa I and that the battle should have taken place, long before A. D. 880, the date that is generally assigned to it.

IV

Now let us come to Aparājita. He is a knotty puzzle in the history of the Pallavas, baffling all attempts to identify him. Nearly a dozen of his inscriptions, giving him the latest regnal year 18, have come to light[1]. These are found in the taluks of Poṉṉēri, Saidapet, Śrīperumbudūr and Conjeevaram of the Chingleput District and the Tiruttaṇi taluk of the Chittoor district. Thus he was the ruler of the core of the Pallava dominions, holding sway over the Conjeevaram taluk and its neighbouring country. Being almost in the immediate neighbourhood of the Pallava capital it is reasonable to suppose that he should have been a relation of the Pallava kings either of Nandivarman III or of Nṛpatuṅga. But his inscriptions do not give us any clue regarding his connection with them. Since Pōttaraiyar is a common title of the Pallava kings of Kāñcī, Aparājita who is mentioned

1. Dr. Jeveau Dubreuil says that an inscription of Tribhuvanavīradēva from Uttaramallūr, refers to the 19th year of the reign of Aparājita—(The Pallavas, p. 82).

in two inscriptions[1] as Kōvijaya Aparājitavarma Pōttaraiyar and Kōvijaya Aparājita Vikrama Pōttaraiyar must be recognised as a Pallava king. His records do not furnish us with any material useful for reconstructing his history. It is, therefore, necessary to examine other sources that are likely to throw light upon the problem.

As has been stated in a previous context, the Udayēndiram plates[2] of Pṛthivīpati II bring to our notice an Aparājita, who won a victory in the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam. But no mention is made of the dynasty to which he belonged. There is another reference to an Aparājita, in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates[3] of Rājēndra Cōḍa, which state that Āditya I took possession of the country of the Pallava king Aparājita, having conquered him in battle. This fact is further confirmed by the Kanyākumārī inscription[4] of Vīrarājēndra. It says that "in a battle he (Āditya) pounced upon and slew the Pallava king, who was seated on the back of a tall elephant." Hence the Pallava king referred to in the Kanyākumārī inscription can be no other than Aparājita, mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, who may be taken to be identical with Aparājita-Vikrama Pōttaraiyar or Aparājitavarma Pōttaraiyar of the inscriptions. These are the only sources for the study of the history of Aparājita. Aparājita of the Udayēndiram plates was, on the evidence adduced in the previous sections, a contemporary of Varaguṇa I. It is for future research to decide who this Aparājita was. But for the present, in spite of the lack of evidence he may, be identified tentatively, if he were a Pallava king at all, with either Nandivarman II, or his son Dantivarman, because both of them happen to be the contemporaries of Varaguṇa I. The term 'Aparājita' in the ślōka in the Udayēndiram plates that refers to the death of Pṛthivīpati I in the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam, may be interpreted as a title, rather than as the personal name of the king. But in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, on the contrary, it is distinctly mentioned as the personal name of the Pallava king, who was defeated by Āditya I.

The Pallava king Aparājita, who was ruling the country around Conjeevaram was, according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and the Kanyākumārī inscription defeated and perhaps slain in

1. Ep. Coll., Nos. 159 and 190-1912.
2. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 380.
3. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 205.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 42 ff.

the battle by Āditya I, who thereafter occupied Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. So the last year of rule, *i.e.*, the 18th regnal year of Aparājita should naturally coincide with the first year of the occupation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Āditya I. The exact date of this event is not known. But a record from Tirumālpuram[1] in the Arkōṇam taluk, of the North Arcot District, refers to the confirmation of a grant, made in the 21st regnal year of Toṇḍaimāṉāṟṟūr Tuñjiṉa Uḍaiyār, who has been identified, with Āditya I. This is the earliest year [equivalent to (870-71 + 20) 890-91], known from epigraphical evidence for Āditya's occupation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. It this year represents the date of the Cōḷa conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and the end of the Pallava rule, (*i.e.*, the last year of the rule of Aparājita) then he should have come to the throne in (890-91—17=) 873-74. It is obvious that this is six years earlier than A. D. 880 (not to speak of A. D. 888), which may provisionally be taken as the last year of the rule of Nṛpatuṅga. This date is derived as noted already, from the synchronistic references to Cāḷuki araśar (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya II) and Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, furnished by the Mallam inscription. Thus, it is clear that Aparājita's reign was coeval with that of Nṛpatuṅga, the early years of the rule of the former coinciding with the last years of the rule of the latter[2].

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1. Ep. Coll., No. 286-1906.
2. The late T. A. Gopinatha Rao, in his paper entitled "Six Pallava Inscriptions" (Jour. Ind. Ass., 1910, Oct.), expressed the view that Nṛpatuṅga and Aparājita were identical. To understand his arguments clearly, the following facts should be remembered. The history of the Pallavas of Kāñcī, was not as clear then, as it is to-day. Dr. Hultzsch and V. Venkayya, the premier epigraphists of South India, were holding the opinion that Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Dantivarman and Nṛpatuṅga were "Gāṅga Pallavas," who were "considered to have immediately succeeded the Pallavas, on the downfall of the ancient dynasty, by the defeat of Nandivarman Pallavamalla about A. D. 760" and "to have ruled up to the beginning of the 10th century A. D." It was not clear then that there were two kings by name Nandivarman among the later Pallavas. About 1910, the accepted order of succession among the so-called "Gāṅga-Pallavas" was Dantivarman (51 years), his son Nandivarman (62 years)—(Nandivarman's inscription of his 65th regnal year had not yet been brought to light)—and his son, Nṛpatuṅga (26 years)—making altogether a total of (51+62+26=) 139 years of rule.

Let us for the sake of argument, as scholars at present generally do, accept the identifications suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, of Varaguṇa, Aparājita and Pṛthivīpati I, the heroes of the Śrīpuṟambiyam battle with Varaguṇa II, Aparājita, the last Pallava king defeated by Āditya I, and Pṛthivīpati I of the Āmbūr records of the 26th year of Nṛpatuṅga's rule respectively. Then, as Prof. Nilakantha Sastri remarks "It seems strange that the victor of Śrīpuṟambiyam appears to have left no inscriptions to the south of Kāñcīpuram". Moreover, how can it be contended that Aparājita fought a battle at Śrīpuṟambiyam, which is identified with the village Tiruppiṟambiyam, near Kumbakōṇam, a place which could not have been included within the limits of his kingdom ? It is strange that not even a single record, either of Aparājita or of his friend Pṛthivīpati, is found in South Arcot — the intervening district between the Chingleput and the Tanjore districts — to prove that their dominion extended as far as Kumbakōṇam.

Leaving out these considerations altogether, let us examine the subject from another stand point. The Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa II must be regarded as an ally or a subordinate of Nṛpatuṅga.

Having these facts in view Gopinatha Rao framed his chronological scheme as follows :—

Dantivarman	.. ..	A. D. 760 — 811
Nandivarman	.. ..	„ 811 — 873
Nṛpatuṅga	.. ..	„ 873 — 899

Gopinatha Rao held that "it could not be that a Pallava king Aparājita, different from Nṛpatuṅga was present at the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam with Pṛthivīpati". He identified Varaguṇa, whose accession to the throne took place in A.D. 862 with the Pāṇḍya king of the same name, who was killed in the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam by Aparājita. Varaguṇa's victorious march to Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was described in the Ambāsamudram inscription of his 17th regnal year. The battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam must, therefore, have been fought either in or after the 17th year of the rule of Varaguṇa. Gopinatha Rao, as has already been stated, took A. D. 878 as the last date of Pṛthivīpati I (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 59, table). "Hence" he concluded "the Pallava friend Aparājita of Pṛthivīpati, who was present at the battle field at Śrīpuṟambiyam, must be only Nṛpatuṅga."

It is evident from what is stated above, that he wrote that article when the history of the Pallavas was still shrouded in mystery, and speculation was rampant. So we need not take

This is the implication of his being the donor in a record[1] of the 18th regnal year of that Pallava king, corresponding to (855+17=) A. D. 872. Then it seems reasonable to conclude that Aparājita, who probably ascended the throne in A. D. 873-4 was an enemy of Nṛpatuṅga, the latter being his enemy's friend. How could these two rivals rule the same tract of country simultaneously, as is indicated by their inscriptions ? If Aparājita is taken to have defeated Varaguṇa II, even before his accession to the throne in A. D. 873-4, how could Pṛthivīpati of the Āmbūr records, who has been identified with Pṛthivīpati I, be alive, when it is clearly stated in the Udayēndiram plates, that he had lost his life in that battle ? If it is argued on the other hand, that the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam had taken place after the 26th year of rule of Nṛpatuṅga, which cannot be earlier than A. D. 880, then where is the room for the generation of Māṟasiṁha, son of Pṛthivīpati I and father of Pṛthivīpati II and what evidence is there to suppose, even for the sake of argument, that he was short-lived ? As a matter of fact, it has been concluded that Varaguṇa II died in 880, if his records, so far discovered, are taken into account. A. D. 880 being the provisional date given to the end of Nṛpatuṅga's reign by counting the regnal years of the later Pallavas as current ones, the actual date of the last year of his rule must be later than 880. As a matter of fact, according to my scheme, he ruled until 888 A. D. It follows from this that Varaguṇa II died even while Nṛpatuṅga was ruling. Even if the identifications of Dr. Hultzsch are rejected, some explanation must be offered for the incongruity of the over-lapping of the reigns of Nṛpatuṅga and Aparājita.

How could it be possible for two different kings to rule over the same tract of country simultaneously ? The inscriptions of Nṛpatuṅga and Aparājita are both abundant in the Chingleput and the Chittoor districts, till the last year of the former's rule. Three

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what Gopinatha Rao has written very seriously and criticise him. All honour to those, who have worked strenuously before us and laid the foundations of South Indian History. We have to admire Gopinatha Rao's critical acumen and boldness in concluding then that Dantivarman and his descendants were also of the same dynasty as the Pallavas of Kāñcī and not different from them, and that the appellation, the Gaṅga Pallavas was wrongly founded.

1. Ep. Coll., No. 360—1921.

alternatives suggest themselves to explain this anamolary. (1) Aparājita must be identical with Nṛpatuṅga, in which case, reasons are to be adduced for the difference in the personal names and for the disappearence of Aparājita's records with the eighteenth year of his rule[1]; (2) or Aparājita, though he was related to Nṛpatuṅga, must have set up an independent rule in defiance of his authority; (3) or Nṛpatuṅga assigned some tract of country to Aparājita, perhaps his dear and near relative, if not his actual son, recognising him as his future heir to the throne. Of these though the last alternative seems plausible yet it does not answer all the difficulties satisfactorily.

V

The simultaneous rule of two kings over the same dominion is thus forced on us by accepting the date 894-95 A.D., suggested by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the Takkōlam record. He pitched upon this date 894-95, as it is nearest to 907, the date of Parāntaka's accession to the throne, assuming that Parāntaka's rule began only after the death of his father Āditya.

The above complication may be avoided if the date of that record is pushed a little forward. The only date[2] that satisfies the details mentioned in it, next to 895 is A. D. 913, which falls in the reign of Parāntaka I, son of Āditya. If 913 is accepted as the date of the Takkōlam record then there is no need to extend his reign arbitrarily beyond his 28th regnal year.[3] But then, we have to postulate the conjoint rule of the early Cōḷa kings, Āditya

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1. Even though T. A. Gopinatha Rao held Nṛpatuṅga and Aparājita to be identical, he did not explain why some epigraphs should be in the name of Nṛpatuṅga and others in the name of Aparājita, and why Aparājita's regnal years should stop with 18 only.

2. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's 'Indian Ephimeris'.

3. The highest regnal year, given in the records of Rājakēsarivarmans, who are unidentified is only 30 (*Vide*, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's "Cōḷas," Appendix, page 385). There are innumerable number of records of the Cōḷa kings, mentioning their regnal years consecutively from the first year of their rule. In such a case, it seems questionable to assign A. D. 894-895 to the Takkōlam record, in the absence of any definitely-known record of Āditya I Rājakēsarivarman after his 28th regnal year.

I and Parāntaka I. This is not unknown to the Cōḷa kings. Their records bear testimony to the conjoint rule of father and son from Parāntaka I down to Vīrarājēndra. But no such evidence is found for the conjoint rule in the history of the Pallavas. Hence joint rule may be accepted, as not only possible but even probable, in the case of Āditya and Parāntaka but not in the case of Nṛpatuṅga and Aparājita.

If A. D. 913 were accepted as the date of the Takkōlam record, the initial and the 21st year of Āditya's rule become A. D. 890 and 910 respectively. Āditya should have taken two or three years for consolidating his power in the newly-conquered territory before he could make fresh grants or confirm old ones; the real date of the Cōḷa conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam would then be A. D. 906-07. Aparājita would have come to the throne, according to the new arrangement of dates in (906-07—18=) 888-89 A. D. after the death of Nṛpatuṅga; he must have been defeated and slain by Āditya I, in 906-07. Āditya anointed his son to the throne in 907, perhaps at the beginning of the great campaign against the chiefs of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. It appears that the conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was achieved by Āditya, not single-handed, but with the help of his son Parāntaka also.

After the death of Nṛpatuṅga, Aparājita, a scion of the Pallava family came to power; the Bāṇas about Tiruvallam and Guḍimallam began to rule independently in their ancestral dominion, there being no powerful over-lord to check them Āditya, with the help of Sthāṇu Ravi, Parāntaka I, and Pṛthivīpati II overcame these independent chieftains and brought Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam under the Cōḷa flag. It is not unlikely that Āditya died in one of his wars, perhaps with the Bāṇas, at Aṟṟūr near Toṇḍamanāḍ, in the territory of the Bāṇas in 917. The battle of Vallāla (Tiruvallam?) mentioned in the Sholinger record[1] of the 9th regnal year (A. D. 915) of Parāntaka, in which Pṛthivīpati II was the victor, should have been one of the many remarkable events of the campaign against Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Pṛthivīpati II was raised to the dignity of Bāṇādhirāja and made the lord of the conquered Bāṇa territory in or some time before the 9th year of Parāntaka. The record, above quoted, gives Pṛthivīpati II the titles Hastimalla, Vīracōḷa and Bāṇādhirāja.

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 221 ff,

If this chronological arrangement is accepted, it should be admitted that Āditya, while conquering Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, sent his son Parāntaka against the Pāṇḍyas of Madura (even as early as 910) because, from the time of Māṟavarman Rājasiṁha I they were trying their best to extend their territory to the north of the Kāvēri. Even after the death of Varaguṇa II, his younger brother Parāntaka, alias Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyaṉ also destroyed Pennāgaḍam ("somewhere near Tanjore") and fought in the Koṅgu country. His son Māṟavarmaṉ Rājasiṁha II seems to have faithfully adhered to the policy adopted by his father and carried his arms to the north of the Kāvēri. The Bigger Śiṉṉa-maṉūr plates, issued in the 16th regnal year of this king, mention the battles he fought at Ulappinimaṅgalam, Koḍumbai, Vañji and with the king of Tañjai. With such Pāṇḍyan rivals in the south in the rear, it seems impossible for Āditya to extend his conquests over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, had he not simultaneously attacked the Pāṇḍyas also, checking their north-ward progress. If this fact is conceded, then not only the conjoint rule of Āditya and Parāntaka should be postulated, but 913 A. D. as the date of the Takkōlam record should also be approved. This suggested date for the Takkōlam record will remove the complication of the conjoint rule of Nṛpatuṅga[1] and Aparājita.

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1. The Report on Epigraphy for 1901 states (p. 6) that Aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍaṉ Mārambāvi, the queen of Nandipōttaraiyar of the Pallava-tilaka race is named in two of Nṛpatuṅgavarman's inscriptions (300 and 303 of 1901), copied at Tiruchchennampūṇḍi, during that year. I examined the texts of the inscriptions published in the South Indian Inscriptions Vol. VII. Besides Ep. Coll., No. 303, four more new inscriptions, numbered as 303A to 303D were also given in the volume. Similarly, besides No. 301, another new inscription, numbered as 303 A, was also copied at the same place. Their numbers in the volume range from 521 to 529. Inscriptions denoted by the numbers 521 (Ep, Coll., No. 300), 522 (Ep, Coll., No. 301), 526(Ep. Coll., No. 303A) and 528 (Ep. Coll., No. 303 C) belong to Nṛpatuṅga. In none of these inscriptions Aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍaṉ Mārambāvi is mentioned. But at the same place, there are two inscriptions denoted by the numbers 523 and 525 (Ep. Coll., Nos. 301A and 303 of 1901 respectively) in the volume. The beginnings of these are lost. In the extant portion these do not mention the Pallava king Nṛpatuṅga at all, but register a gift of the queen Aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍaṉ Mārambāvi,

Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri in his recent work "The Cōḷas", notices an inscription of the 18th year of Rājakēsarivarma, which also mentions the same queen. I have gone through the text of this inscription also. It is true that it mentions a woman Mārambāvi. But no titles are given to her as we find in the inscriptions of the Pallava queen, Aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍaṉ Mārambāvi. There is nothing to show in this particular inscription that this Mārambāvi was identical with the Pallava queen Mārambāvi.

॥ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता श्रीमद्भागवतं च ॥

वे. राघवः, एम्. ए., पिहेच्. डि.

(Continued from Vol. IX. Pt. 2. p. 169)

१६. गी० ६. ५-६: उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानम् ।
आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः ।
बन्धुरात्मात्मनस्तस्य ।

भा० ११. ११. १९: प्रायेण मनुजा लोके लोकतत्त्वविचक्षणाः ।
समुद्धरन्ति ह्यात्मानमात्मनैवाशुभाशयात् ॥

,, ११. ८. ४२: आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो गोप्ता ।

१७. गी० ६. २३: स निश्चयेन योक्तव्यो योगोऽनिर्विण्णचेतसा ।

अनिर्वेदस्य आवश्यकतां प्रति रामायणे हनूमतैवमुच्यते—
अनिर्वेदः श्रियो मूलमनिर्वेदः परं सुखम् ।
तस्मादनिर्वेदकरं यत्नं चेष्टेऽहमुत्तमम् ॥

भागवते ११. १३. १३: भगवद्गीतावाक्यमेवमनूद्यते—
अप्रमत्तोऽनुयुञ्जीत मनो मय्यर्पयञ्छनैः ।
अनिर्विण्णो यथाकालं जितश्वासो जितासनः ॥

श्वासासनादिजयश्च पूर्वमेवोक्तः, अस्मिन्नेव षष्ठेऽध्याये गीतासु 'शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य' इत्यादिषु त्रिचतुरेषु श्लोकेषु ।

१८ गी०. ७. ३: मनुष्याणां सहस्रेषु कश्चिद्यतति सिद्धये ।
यततामपि सिद्धानां कश्चिन्मां वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ॥

भा० ६. १४. ४: प्रायो मुमुक्षवस्तेषां केचनैव द्विजोत्तम ।
मुमुक्षूणां सहस्रेषु कश्चिन्मुच्येत सिद्ध्यति ॥

१९. गी० ७. ४: भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।
अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥

भा० ११. २२: पुरुषः प्रकृतिर्व्यक्तमहंकारो नभोऽनिलः ।
ज्योतिरापः क्षितिरिति तत्त्वान्युक्तानि मे नव ॥

२०. गी० ७. ११: बलं बलवतां चाहम् ।

भागवते प्रह्लाद एवमाह स्वपितरम्—(७. ८. ८)

'न केवलं मे भवतश्च राजन् स वै बलं बलिनां चापरेषाम् ।'

किञ्च तत्रैव (७. ८. ९.) (स ईश्वरः) ओजस्सहस्सत्त्वबलेन्द्रियात्मा ।

उपरि च एतत्तात्पर्या अतिरमणीया अर्जुनपौरुषगर्वभञ्जिका काचन कथा वर्तते । मृत्योरहं द्विजपुत्रं रक्षिष्यामीति विकत्थनेन सगाण्डीवं जागरूक एव तिष्ठत्यर्जुने मृत्युरागत्य शिशुमाक्षिपति । क्लीबीभूतमात्मानमालोक्य, कृष्णमहिमानमनुस्मृत्य दूरीचकार गर्वमर्जुनः—

निशाम्य वैष्णवं धाम पार्थः परमविस्मितः ।
यत्किञ्चित् पौरुषं पुंसां मेने कृष्णानुकम्पितम् ॥

१०. उत्तरार्धे. ८९. ६३.

२१. गी० ७. १७. १८. ज्ञानिप्रशंसा—

तेषां ज्ञानी नित्ययुक्त एकभक्तिर्विशिष्यते ।
प्रियो हि ज्ञानिनोऽत्यर्थमहं स च मम प्रियः ॥
उदाराः सर्व एवैते ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम् ॥

भा० ११. १४. १५-१६. उद्धवायैवमुच्यते भगवता—

न तथा मे प्रियतमः आत्मयोनिर्न शंकरः ।
न च संकर्षणो न श्रीर्नैवात्मा च, यथा भवान् ॥
निरपेक्षं मुनिं शान्तं निर्वैरं समदर्शनम् ।
अनुव्रजाम्यहं नित्यं पूययेत्यङ्घ्रिरेणुभिः ॥

,, ,, १९. २-३. पुनश्चोद्धवमाह भगवान्—

ज्ञानिनस्त्वहमेवेष्टः ।
ज्ञानी प्रियतमोऽतो मे ।

२२. गी० ७. २०: कामैस्तैस्तैर्हृतज्ञानाः प्रपद्यन्तेऽन्यदेवताः ।

इति दृश्यमानम्, भागवते परीक्षिते शुकब्रह्मणा कं कं काममुद्दिश्य काः का देवता उपास्यन्त इति विव्रियते । 'अकामः पुमान् परं पुरुष-

मुपासीत' इति च समाप्यते—"अकामः पुरुषं परम्" इति । पुनश्चैतत् तत्रैव कथ्यते—

अकामः सर्वकामो वा मोक्षकाम उदारधीः ।
तीव्रेण भक्तियोगेन भजेत पुरुषं परम् ॥
१. ३. १-११.

२३. गी० ७: २३: अन्तवत्तु फलं तेषां तद्भवत्यल्पमेधसाम् ।
देवान् देवयजो यान्ति मद्भक्ता यान्ति मामपि ॥

भा० ११. १४: उद्धवाय भगवताभिधीयते—

आद्यन्तवन्त एवैषां लोकाः कर्मविनिर्मिताः ।
दुःखोदर्कास्तमोनिष्ठाः क्षुद्रानन्दाः शुचार्पिताः ॥

इदमेव गी० ५. २२ उच्यते—

ये हि संस्पर्शजा भोगा दुःखयोनय एव ते ।
आद्यन्तवन्तः कौन्तेय न तेषु रमते बुधः ॥

२४. गी० ९. २२. अनन्याश्चिन्तयन्तो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते ।
तेषां नित्याभियुक्तानां योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम् ॥

भागवते च इयं प्रतिज्ञा भगवन्मुखादेव एवं श्रूयते—

ये त्यक्तलोकधर्माश्च मदर्थे, तान् बिभर्म्यहम् ।

२५. गी० ९. २३. येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ता........तेऽपि मामेव यजन्तीति या गीताः, ता एव विस्तीर्यन्ते भागवते अक्रूरस्तुतौ—(१०. पूर्वार्धे ४०-९):

त्वामेवान्ये शिवोक्तेन मार्गेण शिवरूपिणम् ।
बह्वाचार्यविभेदेन भगवन् समुपासते ॥
सर्व एव यजन्ति त्वां सर्वदेवमयेश्वरम् ।
येऽप्यन्यदेवताभक्ता यद्यप्यन्यधियः प्रभो ॥
यथाद्रिप्रभवा नद्यः पर्जन्यापूरिताः प्रभो ।
विशन्ति सर्वतः सिन्धुं तद्वत्त्वां गतयोऽन्ततः ॥

२६ गी० ९. ३०-३२: 'अपि चेत् सुदुराचारो भजते मामनन्यभाक्' इत्यारभ्य—'स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम्' इत्यन्तः सन्दर्भः भगवतैव भागवते (९. १४. २१) एवं संगृह्यते—

'भक्तिः पुनाति मन्निष्ठान् श्वपाकानपि संभवात् ।'

किञ्च सप्तमे प्रह्लाद एवं सब्रह्मचारिणोऽनुशास्ति—

"दैतेया यक्षरक्षांसि स्त्रियश्शूद्रा व्रजौकसः ।
खगा मृगाः पापजीवाः सन्ति ह्यच्युततां गताः ॥"
७. ७. ५४.

एतत्तत्त्वनिर्देशनार्थमेव भागवते गजेन्द्रगोपस्त्रीकुब्जादीनां भक्तियोगकथाः निरूपिता इति मन्ये ।

२७. ९. २७: यत्करोषि यदश्नासि यज्जुहोषि ददासि यत् ।
यत्तपस्यसि कौन्तेय तत्कुरुष्व मदर्पणम् ॥

इदं सर्वप्रकारकेश्वरार्पणं भागवत एवमनूद्यते—(११. ३. २८)

इष्टं दत्तं तपो जप्तं वृत्तं यच्चात्मनः प्रियम् ।
दारान्सुतान्गृहान्प्राणान्यत्परस्मै निवेदनम् ॥

२८. गी० ९. २५: यान्ति देवव्रता देवान् पितॄन् यान्ति पितृव्रताः ।
भूतानि यान्ति भूतेज्या यान्ति मद्याजिनोऽपि माम् ॥

,, ७. २३ देवान् देवयजो यान्ति मद्भक्ता यान्ति मामपि ।

,, १७. ४: यजन्ते सात्त्विका देवान् यक्षरक्षांसि राजसाः ।
प्रेतान् भूतगणांश्चान्ये यजन्ते तामसा जनाः ॥

भा० १. २. २६-२७: मुमुक्षवो घोररूपान् हित्वा भूतपतीनथ ।
नारायणकलाः शान्ताः भजन्ति ह्यनसूयवः ॥
रजस्तमःप्रकृतयः समशीला भवन्ति हि ।
पितृभूतप्रजेशादीन् श्रियैश्वर्यप्रजेप्सवः ॥

२९. गी० १०: ९: मच्चित्ता मद्गतप्राणा बोधयन्तः परस्परम् ।
कथयन्तश्च मां नित्यं तुष्यन्ति च रमन्ति च ॥

इमे चान्ये च भागवतधर्मा बहवोऽतिव्यासेन भागवते वर्णिताः ।

३०. गी० १२. १३: अद्वेष्टा सर्वभूतानां मैत्रः करुण एव च ।

दृश्यते च भागवते पुनःपुनर्भक्ते वर्ण्यमाणे, योगिनि निरूप्यमाणे, साधौ लक्ष्यमणे च "मैत्रः कारुणिकः कविः", "मैत्रः करुण एव च", "मैत्रः करुण आत्मवान्" इति ।

३१. गी० १२. १५: यस्मान्नोद्विजते लोको लोकान्नोद्विजते च यः ।

भा० ११. १८. ३१: नोद्विजेत जनाद्धीरो जनं चोद्वेजयेन्न तु ।

३२. गी०. १४. १७: सत्त्वात् सञ्जायते ज्ञानम् ।

भी०. ११. १३. ६. सात्त्विकान्येव सेवेत पुमान् सत्त्वविशुद्धये ।
ततो धर्मस्ततो ज्ञानं यावत्स्मृतिरपोहनम् ॥

भागवते विशेषतः समादरणार्हो भागः एकादशस्कन्धः । वेदानां वेदान्त इव अन्तभूतं मौलिभूतं मन्ये भागवतस्य एकादशस्कन्धम् । तत्र हि भगवति कृष्णे निर्वर्तितस्वावतारकर्मणि ब्रह्मशापव्याजेन स्वकालात्मकशक्त्या स्वकुलं संहृत्य स्वस्थानं प्रतिष्ठमाने अत्यन्तं प्रियो भक्तस्तस्य सुहृत् परमभागवत उद्धवो भगवद्विरहमसहमानः परितप्यते । तस्मै च विरहातुराय किंकर्तव्यता-मूढाय च भगवान्, पूर्वं सङ्ग्राममुखे अर्जुनायेव, दिव्यं गुह्यं च ज्ञानमुपदिशति । अत्र च अपरा भगवद्गीता आस्ते । ये चाध्यात्मिका विषयाः गीतासु परिशील्यन्ते, ते सर्वेऽपि कृष्णोद्धव-संवादेऽपि । योगास्त्रयः, तत्संबद्धाः सर्वे विषयाश्च अत्रापि स्पष्टं वर्णिताः । तत्र तत्र भगवद्गीतानां अनुवाद इव, प्रतिध्वनिरिव, मूलस्य व्याख्येव, सूत्रस्य विवरणमिव, सङ्ग्रहस्य विस्तर इव बहवः सन्दर्भा वर्तन्ते ।

काम्यकर्मनिन्दा, कर्मफलसंन्यासः, कर्मणां भगवति समर्पणम्, भक्तियोगः, सर्वथा भगवत्परमत्वं भगवद्गतित्वं च, आत्मनोऽविनाशि-त्वादिज्ञानम्, प्रकृतिकृतं सर्वमिति विवेकः, गुणेष्वसंगः, सुखदुःख-पूजावमानस्तुतिनिन्दासुहृच्छत्र्वादिद्वन्द्वेषु साम्यम्, ध्यानयोगः, इन्द्रियनिग्रहः, कामजयः, सत्त्वोद्रेकसंपादनम्, रजस्तमोलङ्घनम्, अमिता भगवतो विभूतयो या ध्यायन् योगी सर्वभूतानि स्वात्मनि स्वात्मानं च सर्वेषु भूतेषु पश्यन् मुच्येत, वर्णधर्माः, स्वधर्मानुष्ठानभगवद्भक्त्योः समन्वयः, ज्ञानयोगः, ज्ञानकर्मभक्ति-योगानामधिकारिप्रविभागः, त्रयाणां योगानां निरूपणम् गुणत्रय-वर्णनमित्यादिविषयाः उद्धवाय भगवता उपदिश्यन्ते ।

अर्जुनस्य उद्धवस्य च साम्यं भगवतैव पूर्वं गीतासु प्रयुक्तान् शब्दानेव पुनः प्रयुञ्जानेन सूच्यते । गीतासु चतुर्थेऽध्याये हि अर्जुन एवमुच्यते भगवता—

"भक्तोऽसि मे सखा चेति रहस्यं ह्येतदुत्तमम् (योगः प्रोक्तः)।"

एकादशे च भागवते उद्धवोऽप्येवमेव उच्यते—

"अथैतत् परमं गुह्यं शृण्वतो यदुनन्दन।
सुगोप्यमपि वक्ष्यामि त्वं मे भृत्यः सुहृत् सखा॥"

तथा हि प्रियो भगवत उद्धवः, यत् स्वविभूतिवर्णने भगवानुद्धवमाह—

"त्वं तु भागवतेष्वहम्।"

अष्टादशाध्याये गीतासु—

"इष्टोऽसि मे दृढमिति ततो वक्ष्यामि ते हितम्"

इति अर्जुने प्रेम भगवताविष्कृतम्। तथैव उद्धवे चाविष्क्रियते—

न तथा मे प्रियतम आत्मयोनिर्न शंकरः।
न च संकर्षणो न श्रीर्नैवात्मा च, यथा भवान्॥

उपदेशान्ते च गीताचार्य उपसंगृह्णाति—

कच्चिदेतच्छ्रुतं पार्थ त्वयैकाग्रेण चेतसा।
कच्चिदज्ञानसंमोहः प्रनष्टस्ते धनञ्जय॥

उद्धवं बहुधोपदिश्य अनेनैव वाक्येन भागवते च भगवानुपरमति—

अप्युद्धव त्वया ब्रह्म सखे समवधारितम्।
अपि ते विगतो मोहः शोकश्चासौ मनोभवः॥ (११. २९. २९)

परं च गीतोपदेशावसान इदमाह भगवान्—

इदं ते नातपस्काय नाभक्ताय कदाचन।
न चाशुश्रूषवे वाच्यं न च मां योऽभ्यसूयति॥

भागवते चेदमेवाह उद्धवम्—

नैतत्त्वया दाम्भिकाय नास्तिकाय शठाय च।
अशुश्रूषोरभक्ताय दुर्विनीताय दीयताम्॥

गीताध्ययनरूपज्ञानयज्ञस्य फलमेवं गीतावसाने भगवता वर्ण्यते—

य इदं परमं गुह्यं मद्भक्तेष्वभिधास्यति ।
भक्तिं मयि परां कृत्वा मामेवैष्यत्यसंशयः ॥

उद्धवोपदेशान्ते च—

य एतन्मम भक्तेषु संप्रदायात् सुपुष्कलम् ।
तस्याहं ब्रह्मदायस्य ददाम्यात्मानमात्मना ॥

गीतासु अष्टादशाध्याय इदमनुगृह्यते भगवता—

सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥

उद्धवाय चेदमेवाह भगवान्—

मामेकमेव शरणम् आत्मानं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
याहि सर्वात्मभावेन मया स्या ह्यकुतोभयः ॥

भागवत एकादशस्कन्धे निमिना कर्मयोगं पृष्ट आविर्होत्र आह ।

निमिः— कर्मयोगं वदत नः पुरुषो येन संस्कृतः ।
विधूयेहाशु कर्माणि नैष्कर्म्यं विन्दते परम् ॥

आविर्होत्रः— कर्माकर्मविकर्मेति वेदवादो न लौकिकः ।
वेदस्य चेश्वरात्मत्वात् तत्र मुह्यन्ति सूरयः ॥

("किं कर्म किमकर्मेति कवयोऽप्यत्र मोहिताः" (४. १६) इति गीतासु)

वेदोक्तमेव कुर्वाणो निस्संगोऽर्पितमीश्वरे ।
नैष्कर्म्यां लभते सिद्धिं रोचनार्था फलश्रुतिः ॥

सङ्ग्रहेण योगत्रयमपि भगवतैवमुद्धवायोपादिष्टम्—

योगास्त्रयो मया प्रोक्ता नृणां श्रेयोविधित्सया ।
ज्ञानं कर्म च भक्तिश्च नोपायोऽन्योऽस्ति कुत्रचित् ॥
निर्विण्णानां ज्ञानयोगो न्यासिनामिह कर्मसु ।
तेष्वनिर्विण्णचित्तानां कर्मयोगस्तु कामिनाम् ॥
यदृच्छया मत्कथादौ जातश्रद्धस्तु यः पुमान् ।
न निर्विण्णो नातिसक्तो भक्तियोगोऽस्य सिद्धिदः ॥

११. २०. ६-८.

गीताष्टादशाध्याये—

स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः ।
स्वकर्मनिरतः सिद्धिं यथा विन्दति तच्छृणु ॥

इत्यारभ्य यः स्वकर्म कुर्वाणस्य स्वधर्मानुष्ठानरूपो योगः स्वकर्मणा भगवदभ्यर्चनं स भागवत एकादशे, सप्तदशेऽष्टादशे चाध्याये विस्तरेण कथ्यते ।

सर्वत्रैव भगवद्भावं द्रष्टुमभ्युपायतया वर्ण्यन्ते तास्ता भगवतो विभूतयो गीतासु विभूतियोगाध्याये दशमे । भागवत एकादशस्कन्धे च विभूतियोगाध्यय एक आस्ते । गीतासु एवमर्जुनः पृच्छति—

परं ब्रह्म परं धाम पवित्रं परमं भवान् ।
पुरुषं शाश्वतं दिव्यमादिदेवमजं विभुम् ॥
आहुस्त्वामृषयः सर्वे * *
वक्तुमर्हस्यशेषेण दिव्या ह्यात्मविभूतयः ।
याभिर्विभूतिभिर्लोकानिमांस्त्वं व्याप्य तिष्ठसि ॥
कथं विद्यामहं योगिंस्त्वां सदा परिचिन्तयन् ।
केषु केषु च भावेषु चिन्त्योऽसि भगवन् मया ॥
विस्तरेणात्मनो योगं विभूतिं च जनार्दन ।
भूयः कथय तृप्तिर्हि शृण्वतो नास्ति मेऽमृतम् ॥

भागवत एकादशे स्कन्धे षोडशेऽध्याये उद्धव एवं पृच्छति—

त्वं ब्रह्म परमं साक्षादनाद्यन्तमपावृतम् ।
सर्वेषामपि भावानां त्राणस्थित्यप्ययोद्भवः ॥
* * *
येषु येषु च भावेषु भक्त्या त्वां परमर्षयः ।
उपासीनाः प्रपद्यन्ते संसिद्धिं तद्वदस्व मे ॥
गूढश्चरसि भूतात्मा भूतानां भूतभावन ।

(गीतासु अत्र ‘भूतभावन भूतेश’ इति अर्जुनेन भगवत्संबुद्धिः क्रियते)

न त्वां पश्यन्ति भूतानि पश्यन्तं मोहितानि ते ॥
याः काश्च भूमौ दिवि वै रसायां विभूतयो दिक्षु महाविभूते ।
ता मह्यमाख्याह्यनुभावितास्ते नमामि ते तीर्थपदाङ्घ्रिपद्मम् ॥

इति उद्धवेन पृष्टो भगवान् ब्रूते—

> एवमेतदहं पृष्टः प्रश्नं प्रश्नविदां वर ।
> युयुत्सुना विनशने सपत्नैरर्जुनेन वै ॥
> ज्ञात्वा ज्ञातिवधं गर्ह्यमधर्मं राज्यहेतुकम् ।
> ततो निवृत्तो हन्ताहं हतोऽयमिति लौकिकः ॥
> स तदा पुरुषव्याघ्रो युक्त्या मे प्रतिबोधितः ।
> अभ्यभाषत मामेवं यथा त्वं रणमूर्धनि ॥

अतः परं भगवतो विभूतयः प्रथमतो यथा भागवतविभूतियोगाध्याये वर्णिताः, तथा ता वर्तयिष्यामि, ताश्च तदा तदा समनन्तरमेव यथा गीतासु वर्णिताः तथा निरूपयिष्यामि ।—

भागवते ११. १६.	गीतासु.
१. अहमात्मा उद्धव अमीषां भूतानां	अहमात्मा गुडाकेश सर्वभूताशयस्थितः । १०. २०.
२. भूतानां सुहृत्	सुहृदं सर्वभूतानाम् ५. २९. निवासः शरणं सुहृत् - ९. १८.
३. तेषां भूतानां स्थित्युद्भवाप्ययः	अहमादिश्च मध्यं च भूतानामन्त एव च । १०. २०. अहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा । ७. ६.
४. कालः कलयतामहम्	तथैव १०. ३०.
५. गुणानामप्यहं साम्यम् ।	इयं विभूतिः गीतासु विभूतियोगाध्याये न दृश्यते । किन्तु साम्यमन्तरा इमे श्लोकाः गीतासु वर्तन्ते, यानालम्ब्यैव भागवते साम्यं गुणेषु भगवद्विभूतित्वेन संगृहीतम्— "विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि । शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥

इहैव तैर्जितः सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं
मनः ।
निर्दोषं हि समं ब्रह्म तस्माद् ब्रह्मणि ते
स्थिताः ॥" ५. १८-१९.

किञ्च—"समः सिद्धावसिद्धौ च" ४. २२.
"समलोष्टाश्मकाञ्चनः" ६. ८.
"समबुद्धिर्विशिष्यते" ६. ९.
"समदुःखसुखः" १२. १३.

समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च तथा मानावमानयोः ।
शीतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु समः संगविवर्जितः ॥ १२. १८.

"तुल्यनिन्दास्तुतिः"

समदुःखसुखः स्वस्थः समलोष्टाश्मकाञ्चनः ।
तुल्यप्रियाप्रियो धीरस्तुल्यनिन्दात्मसंस्तुतिः ॥
मानावमानयोस्तुल्यः तुल्यो मित्रारिपक्षयोः । १५. २४-२५.

"समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु" १८. ५४.
समदुःखसुखं धीरं सोऽमृतत्वाय
कल्पते । २. १४-१५.
सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्योः समो भूत्वा
समत्वं योग उच्यते । २. ४८.

समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति
न प्रियः । ९. २९.

एवं समत्वं योगः, साम्यं ब्रह्मेति यदि * गीतासु गीयते, किमत्र आश्चर्यं यद्भागवते गुणेषु साम्यगुणो भगवानिति वर्ण्यते ।

५. गुणिनामप्यहं सूत्रम्	मयि सर्वमिदं प्रोतं सूत्रे मणिगणा इव ।
६. दुर्जयानामहं मनः	इन्द्रियाणां मनश्चास्मि । ११. २२.

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* किञ्च गीता० २. ३८, ५६, ५७; ५. २०; ६. ७, ८, ९, ३३; १२. १३, १३, १७, १८, १९; १३-९७; १८. २६, ५४.

	असंशयं महाबाहो मनो दुर्निग्रहं चलम् । ५. ३५.
७. मन्त्राणां प्रणवः	प्रणवः सर्ववेदेषु । ७. ८.
८. अक्षराणामकारोऽस्मि	एतदेव । १०. ३३.
९. इन्द्रोऽहं सर्वदेवानाम्	देवानामस्मि वासवः । १०. २२.
१०. वसूनामास्मि हव्यवाट्	वसूनां पावकश्चास्मि । १०. २३.
११. आदित्यानामहं विष्णुः	एवमेव । १०. २१.
१२. रुद्राणां नीललोहितः	रुद्राणां शंकरश्चास्मि । १०. २३.
१३. ब्रह्मर्षीणां भृगुरहम्	महर्षीणां भृगुरहम् । १०. २५.
१४. देवर्षीणां नारदोऽहम्	देवर्षीणां च नारदः । १०. २६.
१५. हविर्धान्यस्मि धेनुषु	धेनूनामस्मि कामधुक् । १०. २८.
१६. सिद्धेश्वराणां कपिलः	सिद्धानां कपिलो मुनिः । १०. २६.
१७. सुपर्णोऽहं पतत्रिणाम्	वैनतेयश्च पक्षिणाम् । १०. ३०.
१८. पितॄणामहमर्यमा	पितॄणामर्यमा चास्मि । १०. २९.
१९. मां विद्धद्युद्धव दैत्यानां प्रह्लादमसुरेश्वरम् ।	प्रह्लादश्चास्मि दैत्यानाम् । १०. ३०.
२०. सोमं नक्षत्रौषधीनाम्	नक्षत्राणामहं शशी । १०. २१. —यच्चन्द्रमसि तत्तेजो विद्धि मामकम् । पुष्यामि चौषधीः सर्वाः सोमो भूत्वा रसात्मकः । १५. १२-१३.
२१. धनेशं यक्षरक्षसाम्	वित्तेशो यक्षरक्षसाम् । १०. २३.
२२. ऐरावतं गजेन्द्राणाम्	एतदेव । १०. २७.
१३. यादसां वरुणं प्रभुम्	वरुणो यादसामहम् । १०. २९.
२४. तपतां द्युमतां सूर्यम्	ज्योतिषां रविरंशुमान् । १०. २१. यदादित्यगतं तेजो जगद्भासयतेऽखिलम् । तत्तेजो विद्धि मामकम् ॥ १५. १२.
२५. मनुष्याणां च भूपतिम्	नराणां च नराधिपम् । १०. २७.
२६. उच्चैःश्रवस्तुरङ्गाणाम्	उच्चैःश्रवसमश्वानाम् । १०. २७.
२७. यमस्संयमतां चाहम्	यमः संयमतामहम् । १०. २९.

२८. सर्पाणामस्मि वासुकिः	इदमेव । १०. २८.
२९. नागेन्द्राणमनन्तोऽहम्	अनन्तश्चास्मि नागानाम् । १०. २९.
३०. मृगेन्द्रः शृङ्गिदंष्ट्रिणाम्	मृगाणां च मृगेन्द्रोऽहम् । १०. ३०.
३१. तीर्थानां स्रोतसां गङ्गा	स्रोतसामस्मि जाह्नवी । १०. ३१.
३२. समुद्रः सरसामहम्	सरसामपि सगारः । १०. २४.
३३. आयुधानां धनुरहम्	आयुधानामहं वज्रम् । १०. २८.
३४. त्रिपुरघ्नो धनुष्मताम्	रामः शस्त्रभृतामहम् । १०. ३१.
३५. धिष्ण्यानामस्म्यहं मेरुः	मेरुः शिखरिणामहम् । १०. २३.
३६. वनस्पतीनामश्वत्थः	अश्वत्थः सर्ववृक्षाणाम् । १०. २६.
३७. स्कन्दोऽहं सर्वसेनान्याम्	सेनानीनामहं स्कन्दः । १०. २४.
३८. यज्ञानां ब्रह्मयज्ञः	यज्ञानां जपयज्ञोऽस्मि । १०. २५. भागवतप्रोक्तब्रह्मयज्ञो गीतास्वेवं वर्ण्यते —४. २४. ब्रह्मार्पणं ब्रह्महविः ब्रह्माग्नौ ब्रह्मणा हुतम् । ब्रह्मैव तेन गन्तव्यं ब्रह्मकर्मसमाधिना ॥
३९. धर्माणामस्मि संन्यासः	कर्मफलसंन्यासश्च पदे पदे गीतासु गीयते ।
४०. गुह्यानां सूनृतं मौनम्	मौनं चैवास्मि गुह्यानाम् । १० ३८.
४१. ऋतूनां मधुमाधवौ	ऋतूनां कुसुमाकरः । १०. ३५.
४२. मासानां मार्गशीर्षोऽहम्	तथैव । १०. ३५.
४३. द्वैपायनोऽस्मि व्यासानाम्	मुनीनामप्यहं व्यासः । १०. ३७.
४४. कवीनां काव्य आत्मवान्	कवीनामुशना कविः । १०. ३७.
४५. व्यवसायिनामहं लक्ष्मीः	व्यवसायोऽस्मि । १०. ३६.
४६. कितवानां छलग्रहः	द्यूतं छलयतामस्मि । १०. ३६.
४७. सत्त्वं सत्त्ववतामहम्	तथैव । १०. ३६.
४८. ओजः सहो बलवतां	पौरुषं नृषु । ७. ८. बलं बलवतां चाहम् । ७. ११.

४९. तेजस्तेजस्विनामहम्	तथैव । १०. ३६.
५०. अहं विद्धि सात्त्वताम्	वृष्णीनां वासुदेवोऽस्मि । १०. ३७.
५१. गन्धमात्रमहं भुवः	पुण्यो गन्धः पृथिव्यां च । ७. ९.
५२. अपां रसश्च परमः	रसोऽहमप्सु । ७. ८.
५३. तेजिष्ठानां विभावसुः	तेजश्चास्मि विभावसौ । ७. ९.
५४. प्रज्ञा सूर्येन्दुताराणाम्	प्रज्ञास्मि शशिसूर्ययोः । ७. ८.
५५. शब्दोऽहं नभसः परः	शब्दः खे । ७. ८.
५६. वीराणामहमर्जुनः	पाण्डवानां धनञ्जयः । १०. ३७.
५७. भूतनां स्थितिरुत्पत्तिः अहं वै प्रतिसङ्क्रमः	अहं सर्वस्य प्रभवः । १०. ८. यच्चापि सर्वभूतानां बीजं तदहमर्जुन । १०. ३९. बीजं मां सर्वभूतानां विद्धि पार्थ सनातनम् । ७. १०. प्रभवप्रलयस्थानं निधानं बीजमव्ययम् । ९. १८.
५८. आन्वीक्षिकी कौशलानां विकल्पः ख्यातिवादिनाम्	अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां वादः प्रवदतामहम् । २०. ३२.

गीतासु विभूत्यध्याय इतरत्र वा न दृष्टाः काश्चन विभूतयो भागवत उल्लिखिताः । ता इमाः—

१. अहं गतिर्गतिमताम्
२. महतां च महानहम्
३. सूक्ष्माणामप्यहं जीवः
४. हिरण्यगर्भो वेदानाम्
५. तितिक्षास्मि तितिक्षूणाम्
६. भूधराणामहं स्थैर्यम्
७. धातूनामास्मि काञ्चनम्
८. आश्रमाणामहं तुर्यः (महाभारतेऽन्यत्र च गार्हस्थ्यमेव श्रेष्ठतया वर्ण्यते)
९. वर्णानां प्रथमोऽनघ
१०. व्रतानामविहिंसनम्
११. स्त्रीणां तु शतरूपाहम्
१२. पुंसां स्वायंभुवो मनुः
१३. नारायणो मुनीनां च
१४. कुमारो ब्रह्मचारिणाम्
१५. क्षेमाणामबहिर्मतिः
१६. उद्धवो भागवतेषु ।

विभूतीनां वर्णनां परिसमापयन् गीताचार्य आह—नान्तोऽस्ति मम दिव्यानां विभूतीनां परन्तप ।

भागवते दृश्यते—संख्यानं परमाणूनां कालेन क्रियते मया ।
न तथा मे विभूतीनां सृजतोऽण्डानि कोटिशः ॥

गीतासु—एष तूद्देशतः प्रोक्तो विभूतेर्विस्तरो मया ।
भागवते—एतास्ते कीर्तितास्सर्वास्संक्षेपेण विभूतयः ।

किञ्च सङ्ग्रहेणैवं सर्वा विभूतयः सूच्यन्ते गीतासु—

यद्यद्विभूतिमत् सत्त्वं श्रीमदूर्जितमेव वा ।
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोंऽशसंभवम् ॥

भागवते चैवमेव—

तेजः श्रीः कीर्तिरैश्वर्यं ह्रीस्त्यागः सौभगं भगः ।
वीर्यं तितिक्षा विज्ञानं यत्र यत्र—स मेंऽशकः ॥ (४०)

यः कर्मफलसंन्यासः, ईश्वरे कर्मार्पणम्, गीतासु प्रतिपाद्यते स भागवते व्यासायैवं नारदेन प्रोच्यते—

आमयो यश्च भूतानां जायते येन सुव्रत ।
तदेव ह्यामयं द्रव्यं न पुनाति चिकित्सितम् ॥
एवं नृणां क्रियायोगाः सर्वे संसृतिहेतवः ।
त एवात्मविनाशाय कल्पन्ते कल्पिताः परे ॥
१. ५. ३४.

उद्धवाय चैतदेव भगवानप्याह—

मयोदितेष्ववहितः स्वधर्मेषु मदाश्रयः ।
वर्णाश्रमकुलाचारमकामात्मा समाचरेत् ॥

* * *

निवृत्तं कर्म सेवेत प्रवृत्तं मत्परस्त्यजेत् ।

चतुर्थे स्कन्धे (अध्या० २५-२९) प्राचीनबर्हिषे नारद एवमाह 'ज्ञानं कर्मणो गरीयः' इति—

यथा हि पुरुषो भारं शिरसा गुरुमुद्वहन् ।
तं स्कन्धेन स आधत्ते तथा सर्वाः प्रतिक्रियाः ॥
नैकान्ततः प्रतीकारः कर्मणां कर्म केवलम् ।
द्वयं ह्यविद्योपसृतं स्वप्ने स्वप्न इवानघ ॥

अयं च ज्ञानयोगः, अरण्यगमनं च, भोगैश्वर्यप्रसक्ताय कामात्मने जन्मकर्मफलप्रदे कर्मणि लुठते पुरुषाय उपदिश्यते । किन्तु, यदा अपरो राजा प्रियव्रतनामकः अरण्यं यियासति तदा तस्य विरक्तस्य कर्म नैव बन्धाय कल्पेतेति कर्मयोगनिरूपणपूर्वकमरण्यगमननिवारणं क्रियते—

"जितेन्द्रियस्यात्मरतेर्बुधस्य
गृहाश्रमः किं नु करोत्यवद्यम् ।" ५. १. १७. इति ।

कर्मयोगनामकगीतातृतीयाध्यायप्रोक्तः कर्मयोगो भगवता भागवते तत्र तत्र स्वयमाचरणेन उपदेशेन च निरूप्यते । यद्विना शरीरयात्रापि य प्रसिध्येत्, यच्च कुर्वन्नपि तत्फलसंन्यासेन, तस्य भगवति समर्पणेन, तस्य भगवदभ्यर्चनरूपतया करणेन पुमान् मुच्येत, नैतेन बध्येत च, तत् कर्म कथं समनुष्ठेयमिति भगवानेव पन्थानं दर्शयति । स एव मार्गदर्शी भवन् अस्माकं नायकीभवन् अस्माकमुत्तमः, 'पुरुषोत्तमः' इति पदमधिरोहति । तस्येच्छावशात् विवर्तमानेऽस्मिन् संसारचक्रे पतितमात्मानं जानन्, 'अहं करोमि' इत्यहंकारं दूरीकृत्य, तस्य केवलं निमित्तमात्रं भवन् तस्य कर्म योगी करोति*; कुर्वंश्च यशोऽधिगच्छति । यथा चास्माकमसङ्गकर्मकरणे भगवानेव दृष्टान्तः, तथा भागवतपुराणे सुष्ठ्वेवमुच्यते भगवतो ऋषभावतारे—

"भगवानृषभसंज्ञः आत्मतन्त्रः स्वयं नित्यनिवृत्तानर्थपरम्परः केवलानन्दानुभवः ईश्वर एव विपरीतवत् कर्माण्यारभमाणः कालेन अनुगतं धर्ममाचरणेन उपशिक्षयन् अतद्विदाम्, समः, उपशान्तः, मैत्रः, कारुणिकः धर्मार्थयशःप्रजानन्दामृतावरोधेन गृहेषु लोकं नियमयत्—

यद्यच्छीर्षण्याचरितं तत्तदनुवर्तते लोकः ।" (५. ४.)

गीतासु—'यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः' इति ।

एवं च भगवानेव न केवलं धर्मस्य मूलम्, वक्ता च, किन्तु गोप्ता निरूपयिता, शिक्षयिता च । गार्हस्थ्यासक्तं भगवन्तमालोक्य नारदो विस्मयमाप । भगवांस्तु विस्मितं तमाह—

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*गीता १८. ४५-६१; ११. ३१-३२.

ब्रह्मन् धर्मस्य वक्ताहं कर्ता तदनुमोदिता ।
तच्छिक्षयंल्लोकमिममास्थितः पुत्र, मा खिदः ॥
(दशमे, उत्तरे ६९. ४०)

तृतीयस्कन्धे विदुरमेवमाह उद्धवः—
भगवानपि विश्वात्मा लोकवेदपथानुगः ।
कामान् सिषेवे द्वार्वत्यामसक्तः सांख्यमास्थितः ॥ ३. ३. १९.

उपरि उच्यत इदं परशुराममन्तरा—
ईजे च भगवान् रामो यत्रास्पृष्टोऽपि कर्मणा ।
लोकस्य ग्राहयन्नीशो यथान्योऽघापनुत्तये ॥ १०. उत्तरार्धे ८२. ४.

नारद इव विस्मित उद्धवश्च तथैव कर्मयोगिनं भगवन्तमाह—(तृतीये स्कन्धे)—
कर्माण्यनीहस्य, भवोऽभवस्य ते,
दुर्गाश्रयोऽथारिभयात् पलायनम् ।
कालात्मनः, यत्प्रमदायुताश्रयः
स्वात्मन्रते, खिद्यति धीर्विदामिह ॥ इति (३. ४. १६.)

एवं लोकस्य मार्गदर्शितया अनवरतम् असक्तिं कर्मणि युञ्जानस्य सर्वनियामकस्य भगवतो मानो वा अहंकारो वा नैवास्ति । युधिष्ठिर-राजसूये च, भागवते कथ्यते, दुर्योधनादिभ्यो महतोऽधिकारान् दत्त्वा स्वयं समागतब्राह्मणपादावनेजनकर्मणि भगवानात्मानं न्ययोजय-दिति । तमेवंगुणं भगवन्तं भागवतपुराणमेवं स्तौति—
तमीहमानं निरहंकृतं बुधं निराशिषं पूर्णमनन्यचोदितम् ।
नृन् शिक्षयन्तं निजवर्त्मसंस्थितं प्रभुं प्रपद्येऽखिलधर्मभावनम् ॥

एवं च ईहमानोऽपि कर्म कुर्वाणोऽपि नाहंकारेण लिप्यते भगवान्; न तस्य फलकामना काचित् । तं च कर्मणि को वा चोदयति? एवमेव परेण अचोदित एव सत्कर्मणि योगी स्वयमेव ईश्वरकर्मकरण-बुद्ध्या प्रविशति । तस्य भगवतो निमित्तीभवन् स्वकृतार्थतां संपादयति । यतः पृथुराजाय भगवानेवाह—
"मदादेशकरो लोकः सर्वत्राप्नोति शोभनम्" इति । ४. २०. ३३
"मत्कर्मकृत्" इति गीतासु भगवान् योगिनं वर्णयति । एवं

तत्कर्मकृता भाव्यम् । तदा ईश्वर इव योगी भवति । तेन भगवता सादृश्यं लभते । "मम साधर्म्यमागताः" इति गीताः १२. २. । ईश्वर इव लोकसङ्ग्रहं करोति । गीतासु तृतीयेऽध्याये—

'कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथासक्तश्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसङ्ग्रहम्' (२५) इति भगवतोक्तम् । तथैव भागवते एकादशे स्कन्धे भगवतैवैतदुच्यते—

"अन्यांश्च नियमान् ज्ञानी (कुर्यात्) यथाहं लीलयेश्वरः"

११. १८. ३६.

इति । समागतं योगिनं विरक्तम् आत्मवन्तं ब्रह्मण्यं कुचेलं कुशलप्रश्नरूपेण भगवानाह—

"प्रायो गृहेषु ते चित्तमकामविहतं तथा ।
नैवातिप्रीयसे विद्वन् धनेषु, विदितं हि मे ॥
केचित् कर्माणि कुर्वन्ति कामैरहतचेतसः ।
त्यजन्तः प्रकृतीर्दैवीः, यथाहं लोकसंग्रहम् ॥"

१०. उत्तरार्धे ८०. २९-३०.

अस्मिन्नेवार्थे ममायं श्लोकः—

अन्यः कृतज्ञमनसा करणे समुत्को
दत्तान् समर्पयति नैजगुणांस्तदङ्घ्रौ ।
क्षिप्त्वाक्षतान् स्वशिरसीशकृतौ पुरोधा-
स्तत्कर्मकृद् व्रजति तत्सदृशश्च तत्त्वम् ॥

(मङ्गलम्)

भवभयमपहन्तुं ज्ञानविज्ञानसारं
निगमकृदुपजह्रे भृङ्गवद्वेदसारम् ।
अमृतमुदधितश्चापाययद् भृत्यवर्गान्
पुरुषमृषभमाद्यं कृष्णसंज्ञं नतोऽस्मि ॥ (भागवते ११ स्कन्धे)

पुनश्चेदं मङ्गलं भवतु—

यत्र योगेश्वरः कृष्णो यत्र पार्थो धनुर्धरः ।
तत्र श्रीर्विजयो भूतिर्ध्रुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मम ॥ (गी० १८. ७८.)

भागवताच्चैतत् प्रतिध्वनद् वृत्रासुरवाक्यं च मङ्गलं भवतु—

यतो हरिः, विजयश्श्रीर्गुणास्ततः ॥ (६. ११. २०.)

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CONVENTIONS IN THE ART OF PAINTING.

BY

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The world is full of limitations; and everywhere in every field human agency fails to get the upper hand of Nature and is reduced to the state of, and humiliated to such an extent as to meekly acquiese in, subserving the powerful laws of the Omnipotent Spirit. Thus when man attempts at building a house in sand or to chisel out a statue from snow his action is frustrated and he has to accept defeat and turn to other materials provided with greater adhesiveness or permanency as the case may be suited for building-construction and figure-carving. When man employs materials he cannot do everything in his own way. His liberties are not so uncurtailed; and the so-called discoveries of means, methods and materials are merely understanding and obeying of Nature's commands. Convention is a process that takes its birth from man's realisation of the limitations that Nature thrusts on him in his means and methods of different executions. Convention has a very wide sphere of activity and is found in every department of life. It is proposed in this note to deal with some of the conventions that obtain in the Art of Painting and its kindred science, Sculpture.

To have a good idea of what conventionalism is it would do well for us to look up Ruskin who argues it at length in the section on modern manufacture and design in his 'The two Paths' and also in his Addenda to his lecture on 'Architecture and Painting'. Speaking of conventionalism by cause of inefficiency of material he says—" If for instance we are required to represent a human figure with stone only, we cannot represent its colour; we reduce its colour to whiteness. That is not elevating the human body, but degrading it; only it would be a much greater degradation to give its colour falsely. Diminish beauty as much as you will, but do not misinterpret it. So again, when we are sculpturing a face we can't carve its eyelashes. The face is none the better for wanting its eyelashes—it is injured by the

want; but would be much more injured by a clumsy representation of them.

"Neither can we carve the hair. We must be content with the conventionalism of vile solid knots and lumps of marble, instead of the golden cloud that encompasses the fair human face with its waving mystery. The lumps of marble are not an elevated representation of hair—they are a degraded one; yet better than any attempt to imitate hair with the incapable material.

"In all cases in which such imitation is attempted, instant degradation to a still lower level is the result. For the effort to imitate shows that the workman has only a base and poor conception of the beauty of the reality—else he would know his task to be hopeless, and give it up at once: so that all endeavours to avoid conventionalism, when the material demands it, result from insensibility to truth, and are among the worst forms of vulgarity. Hence, in the greatest Greek statues, the hair is very slightly indicated, not because the sculptor disdained hair, but because he knew what it was too well to touch it insolently. I do not doubt but that the Greek painters drew hair exactly as Titian does. Modern attempts to produce finished pictures on glass result from the same base vulgarism. No man who knows what painting means, can endure a painted glass window which emulates painter's work. But he rejoices in a glowing mosaic of broken colour: for that is what the glass has the special gift and right of producing."[1]

But the above quotation from Ruskin has a bearing only on the limitations imposed on work by the material used for the purpose. We have just like the impossibility of working of hair beyond an indication of it and a total inability to represent eyelashes and colour in sculpture the impossibilies of representation of volume—the the three dimensions—in painting; and thus here come in such conventions as light and shade, perspective and foreshortening. All these have reference to the manner of execution as suited to the material on which the workman operates. And we have other conventions pertaining to the contents or the idea of the representation, the subject as it is called. It is this convention regarding representation of a theme that is to be dealt with at some length in this paper.

In such cases conventions rise very high and become noble and sublime. They then assume the proportions of suggestive

1. The Two Paths—Modern manufacture and design.

forces and convey, to the mind of the witness of the execution, ideas more beautiful as suggested ones than matter of fact ones specifically stated. There are pictures and pictures. The most detailed delineation in a picture where nothing is left to suggestion and where finish goes to a point of vulgarity is never so desirable as a suggestive sketch full of idea and thought provoking. Abhinavagupta speaks of pictures rather contemptuously as on a par with Citrakāvya—producing mere wonder and nothing more. But his reference appears to be only to non-suggestive pictures. Convention is that particular suggestion that softens a picture and at the same time gets recognised being understood to connote a certain meaning by a large number of spectators. Just as in Alaṅkāra we talk of Vyaktāvyaktakāminī-kucakalaśa as very beautiful and suggestive and bring it in as an illustration of Vyaṅgyakāvya we have the Vyaktāvyakta suggestive picture with healthy conventions as the real force in art.

We have a lot of references in Sanskrit literature where particular conventions denote particular states and emotions. The mudrās and sthānas etc. of Nāṭya are other methods of expressing the same states and emotions. And as the method of suggestion in Citraśāstra is not very different from that in the Nāṭyaśāstra as stated in the verses—

यथा नृत्ते तथा चित्रे त्रैलोक्यानुकृतिः स्मृता ॥
दृष्टयश्च तथा भावा अङ्गोपाङ्गानि सर्वशः ।
कराश्च ये महा(मया?)नृत्ते पूर्वोक्ता नृपसत्तम ॥
त एव चित्रे विज्ञेया नृत्तं चित्रं परं मतम् ॥ Viṣṇudharmottara.

we have to take into consideration both the arts.

Now to take actual cases: in the representation of a Virahiṇī the accepted convention is the painting of ekaveṇī, malinavastra, pāṇḍukapola etc. We have it given in the graphic description of Sītā in the Sundarakāṇḍa of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, and in many other kāvyas. We may just quote Kālidāsa as an example. In the verse—

अथार्धरात्रे स्तिमितप्रदीपे शय्यागृहे सुप्तजने प्रबुद्धः ।
कुशः प्रवासस्थकलत्रवेषामदृष्टपूर्वां वनितामपश्यत् ॥

Raghu. XVI, 4.

we are told that the dress of women separated from their husbands is distinct and easily distinguishable. In another verse

क्रियाप्रबन्धादयमध्वराणामजस्रमाहूतसहस्रनेत्रः ।
शच्याश्चिरं पाण्डुकपोललम्बान् मन्दारशून्यानलकांश्चकार ॥

Raghu. VI, 23.

this dress is explained further. Elaborate explanation is found in the verse—

वेणीभूतप्रतनुसलिलासावतीतस्य सिन्धुः
पाण्डुच्छाया तटरुहतरुभ्रंशिभिर्जीर्णपर्णैः ।
सौभाग्यं ते सुभग विरहावस्थया व्यञ्जयन्ती
कार्श्यं येन त्यजति विधिना स त्वयैवोपपाद्यः ॥ Megha. I, 29.

An unmarried girl is easily suggested by a particular arrangement of dress and we have this given in the passage from the Viddhasālabhañjikā of Rājaśekhara.

विदूषकः—(स्वगतम्) का पुनरेषा देवीपरिवारे ? (विचिन्त्य) भवतु कौतूहलेन देवी अभिनवागतं निजमातुलजातकं मृगाङ्कवर्माणं वारं वारं विरचितमहिलावेषं कारयति । तां च दृष्ट्वा अज्ञातपरमार्थैश्चित्रकरैः सैव चित्रे आलिखितेति तर्कयामि तन्न विस्फोटयिष्ये, विस्मयतु तावत्प्रियवयस्यः । (प्रकाशम्) वर्द्धापयिष्ये भो कुमारिका खलु एतस्या नेपथ्यं लक्ष्यते ।

राजा—यथाह प्रियवयस्यः ।

कन्येति सूचयति वेषविशेष एव
यन्नीलचोलकवती लिखितात्र चित्रे ।
पाणिग्रहात् प्रभृति तु प्रमदाजनस्य
नीवीविशेषसुभगः परिधानमार्गः ॥ Act I.

Sparse ornamentation and a plain apparel suggest a simple life in the woods and the famous example of this is that of Śakuntalā and her companions Priyaṁvadā and Anasūyā in the famous play of Kālidāsa.[1] Profuse ornamentation and and an eagar

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1. **राजा**—वयस्य ! अन्यच्च शकुन्तलायाः प्रसाधनमभिप्रेतमत्र विस्मृतमस्माभिः ।

विदूषकः—किमिव ?
सानुमती—वनवासस्य सौकुमार्यस्य च यत् सदृशं भविष्यति ।
राजा—कृतं न कर्णार्पितबन्धनं सखे शिरीषमागण्डविलम्बिकेसरम् ।
न वा शरच्चन्द्रमरीचिकोमलं मृणालसूत्रं रचितं स्तनान्तरे ॥
Act VI.

flutter in the case of a maiden for meeting her lord would suggest her to be a Vāsakasajjikā.

All the above named are but a few titbits from literature. We have a separate section in the Viṣṇudharmottara titled Rūpa-nirmāṇa dealing elaborately with conventions; and it is an interesting and pleasant study to see how particular features and special characteristics suggest particular situations etc. It is most profitable to consider this chapter in detail. In the representation of Daityas, Dānavas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Devas, Gandharvas, Ṛṣis, kings, ministers, Brāhmaṇas etc. separate pramāṇas of each class based on the different calculations like Bhadra, Rucaka etc. and the special distinguishing characteristics are given.

The sages, Gandharvas, Daityas, Dānavas, ministers, astrologers, Purohitas and Brāhmaṇas in general are to be of the Bhadrapramāṇa.[1] The sages are to be represented as lustrous but weak and emaciated, with matted hair, and the Kṛṣṇājina (skin of the black deer) as the uttarīya or upper garment.[2] The Devatās and Gandharvas are to be shown as (not?) devoid of crowns and having a śikhara?[3] Brāhmaṇas are to be shown as full of splendour (Brahmavarcas) and wearing white garments.[4] Ministers, astrologers and royal priests are to be adorned fully and in a gaudy fashion with all sorts of ornaments but they are to be

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Thus Śakuntalā and other maidens in the wood deck themselves with flowers. That they wear no golden ornaments is given in the line अये ! अनुपयुक्तभूषणोऽयं जनश्चित्रकर्मपरिचयेनाङ्गेषु त आभरणविनियोगं करोति । Act IV.

1. ऋषयश्च सगन्धर्वा दैत्याश्च सहदानवाः ।
मन्त्रिणश्च महाराज सं(सां ?)वत्सरपुरोहितौ ॥
कार्या भद्रप्रमाणेन ब्राह्मणाश्च नरेश्वर ।

Dr. Stella Kramrisch translates the word संवत्सर— as Śiva. The correct reading as found later on in the text itself is सांवत्सर and it means an astrologer.

2. ऋषयस्तत्र कर्तव्या जटाजूटोपशोभिताः ॥
कृष्णाजिनोत्तरासङ्गा दुर्बलास्तेजसा युताः ।

3. देवताश्चापि गन्धर्वा मुकुटेन विवर्जिताः ॥
कर्तव्यास्ते महाराज शिखरैरुपशोभिताः ।

4. ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनो विप्राः शुक्लाम्बरधरास्तथा ॥

shown as wearing turbans and not crowns.[1] Daityas and Dānavas are to be of a terrible aspect *i.e.* fearful face, with globular eyes, frowning eyebrows and with a gaudy apparel.[2] Gandharvas are to be of the Bhadrapramāṇa, and should be represented as fully beautified with garlands and ornaments, having swords in their hands and flying in the sky or moving on the earth with their wives.[3] Kinnaras, Nāgas and Rākṣasas to be of the Mālavya parimāṇa.[4] Yakṣas are to be of the Rucaka pramāṇa.[5] An important man (a great man) is to be painted according to Śaśaka pramāṇa.[6] Piśācas, dwarfs, hunchbacks, Pramathagaṇas and kings are to be done according to their individual natural measurements and forms.[7] The wives of every one of these are to be painted appropriately to the measurements of their husbands.[8]

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1. मन्त्रिणश्च महाराज सांवत्सरपुरोहितौ ।
सर्वालङ्कारसंयुक्तानेवोल्बणविभूषणान् ।।
मुकुटेन विहीनांस्तु सोष्णीषान् कारयेच्च तान् ।

The epithets in the line मुकुटेन etc. which are in the accusative and go with मन्त्रिणः are so translated as to go with दैत्याश्च etc. No such construction is possible since accusative epithets qualify only accusative nouns and nominative epithets nominative nouns.

2. दैत्याश्च दानवाश्चैव कर्तव्या भ्रुकुटीमुखाः ।।
वर्तुलाक्षास्तथा कार्या भीमवक्त्रास्तथैव च ।
तेषामभ्युद्धतो वेषः कर्तव्यः पृथिवीपते ।।

3. रुद्रप्रमाणाः (भद्रप्रमाणाः ?) कर्तव्यास्तथा विद्याधरा नृप ।
सपत्नीकाश्च ते कार्या माल्यालङ्कारधारिणः ।।
खड्गहस्ताश्च ते कार्या गगने वाथवा भुवि ।

4. मालव्यपरिमाणेन किन्नरोरगराक्षसाः ।।

5. रुचकस्य प्रमाणेन यक्षाः कार्या नराधिप ।

6. शशकस्य प्रमाणेन प्रधानं मानवं लिखेत् ।।

7. पिशाचा वामनाः कुब्जाः प्रमथाश्च महीभुजः ।
मान(ना ?) न्नियमतः कार्यै(र्या ?) रूप (पा ?)न्नियमतस्तथा ।।

The construction here is practically impossible. There is no connection between the former line of the śloka and the latter. Hence the suggested readings.

8. स्वानुरूपप्रमाणाश्च सर्वेषां योषितः स्मृताः ।

There is no word in the text for 'traditional' used by Dr. Stella Kramrisch in her translation.

Kinnaras are of two kinds. Those with the face of a horse and a human body and those with a horse's body and a human face.[1] Those with the face of a horse are to be completely decked with jewels and represented as lustrous and carrying musical instruments.[2] Rākṣasas are to be painted as terrible and with fierce eyes with the hairs all flying up dishevelled.[3] Nāgas are to be represented just like gods with an addition of hoods on their heads.[4] Yakṣas are to be fully ornamented.[5] The Pramathas of gods, and the Piśācas are to be of no special pramāṇa.[6] The gaṇas of Devatās should be shown as having the faces of various creatures, should wear different kinds of dresses and carry different weapons; they should also be engaged in multifarious sports and activities.[7] But all Vaiṣṇavagaṇas are to be of one type except for four differences, one class, Vāsudevagaṇa, resembling Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇagaṇa resembling Saṅkarṣaṇa and the gaṇas of Pradyumna and Aniruddha resembling them both.[8] All these possess the valour of their lord, wear ornaments similar to his, are clear like the moon, and dark like the blue-lotus or like

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1. किन्नरा द्विविधाः प्रोक्ता नृवक्त्रा हयविग्रहाः ॥
नृदेहाश्चाश्ववक्त्राश्च तथान्ये परिकीर्तिताः ।

2. अश्ववक्त्रास्तु कर्तव्या सर्वालङ्कारधारिणः ॥
गीतवाद्यसमायुक्ता द्युतिमन्तस्तथैव च ।

3. उत्कचा राक्षसाः कार्या विकलाक्षा विभीषणाः ॥

4. देव(वा ?)काराश्च कर्तव्या नागाः फणविराजिताः ।

5. सालङ्काराः स्मृताः सर्वे यक्षास्तेऽभिहिता मया ॥

6. सुराणां प्रमथाः कार्याः प्रमाणेन विवार्जिताः ।
पिशाचाश्च तथा कार्याः प्रमाणेन विवर्जिताः ॥

7. नानासत्त्वमुखाः कार्याः देवतानां तथा गणाः ।
नानावेशा महाराज नानायुधधरास्तथा ॥
नानाक्रीडाप्रसक्ताश्च नानाकर्मकरास्तथा ।

8. एकरूपास्तु कर्तव्या वैष्णावानां तथा गणाः ॥
तत्रापि तेषां कर्तव्या भेदाश्चत्वार एव च ।
वासुदेवसमाः कार्या वासुदेवगणाः शुभाः ॥
संकर्षणेन सदृशास्तद्गणाश्च तथा स्मृताः ।
प्रद्युम्नेनानिरुद्धेन तद्गणाः सदृशास्तथा ॥

the marakata gem with the lustre of sindūra.[1] Veśyāṅganās (prostitutes) are to be of the Rucaka pramāṇa and their apparel should be gaudy in accordance with the laws of śṛṅgāra (love).[2] Kulastriyaḥ (House wives) are to be of the Mālavyamāna and full of modesty. They should wear ornaments but their apparel ought not to be over gaudy.[3] The wives of Daityas, Dānavas and Yakṣas are to be represented very beautiful.[4] The Mātaraḥ (mothers or can it be Saptamātaraḥ?) are to be done according to their form.[5] The wives of Piśācas are to be drawn according to the form of the Piśāca.[6] Widows are to be drawn as grey-haired, wearing white clothes and devoid of all ornaments.[7] Dwarfs, hunchbacks, old ladies and beautiful damsels should be in the retinue of princesses; The Kañcuki amongst them should be represented old.[8] The Vaiśyas are to be drawn according to

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1. तत्प्रभावाः स्मृताः सर्वे तदायुधधरास्तथा ।
नीलोत्पलदलश्यामाश्चन्द्रशुभ्रास्तथैव च ॥
तथा मरकताकाराः सिन्दूरसदृशप्रभाः ।

In the above two lines there is no description of the Veśyāṅganās as supposed by Dr. Kramrisch. They are the descriptions of the Vaiṣṇavagaṇas.

2. रुचकस्य तु मानेन वेश्याः कार्यास्तथा स्त्रियः ॥
वेश्यानामुद्धतं वेषं कार्यं शृङ्गारसम्मतम् ।

The translation 'calculated to excite erotic feeling' of Dr. Kramrisch is somewhat strained उद्धत means gaudy, not unrestrained'.

3. मालव्यामानतः कार्या लज्जावत्यः कुलस्त्रियः ॥
नात्युन्नतेन वेषेन सालङ्कारास्तथैव च ।

4. दैत्यदानवयक्षाणां राक्षसानां तथैव च ॥
रूपवत्यस्तथा कार्याः पत्न्यो मनुजसत्तम ।

5. मातरः स्वेन रूपेण तथा कार्या नराधिप ॥
Mātaraḥ may be Saptamātaraḥ.

6. पिशाचानां च पत्न्योऽपि कार्यास्तद्रूपसंयुताः ।

7. विभर्तृकास्तु कर्तव्यास्त्रियः पलितसंयुताः ॥
शुक्लवस्त्रपरीधानाः सर्वालङ्कारवर्जिताः ।

8. कुब्जा वामनिका वृद्धा तथा रूपवती भवेत् ।
राजस्त्रीणां परीवारे वृद्धः स्यात् कञ्चुकी पुनः ॥

The rendering of Dr. Kramrisch 'A hunchbacked, a dwarfish and an old woman also should be (represented) in (their) natural condition' is not correct. Kubjā etc. are given in the feminine specially because they form the retinue of royal women.

to the Rucaka pramāṇa.[1] The Śūdras are to be of the Śaśaka pramāṇa.[2] In both cases their dress is to be according to their particular caste.[3] The women of Daityas are to be painted in the company of their maids.[4] The artist should take care to paint the commander-in-chief of the army as very proud and mighty, with a ponderous head, broad chest, prominent nose and chin, lusty shoulders, brawny arms and a thick neck, gigantic in his proportions, with three distinct wavy wrinkles on his brow, a broad waist, and with his look directed upwards.[5] Warriors in general are to be depicted with knitted brows.[6] With an overbearing look, gaudy dress, and haughty bearing are to be painted armed foot-soldiers.[7] They are to be of the Karṇāṭaka type and should arm themselves with sword and shield.[8] The bowmen are to be sketched with bare knees having excellent bows in their hands.[9] Their dress should not be very gaudy and they should wear slippers on their feet.[10] Horses and elephants etc. are to

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1. रुचकस्य तु मानेन वैश्यमानं विधीयते ॥
2. शशकस्य तु मानेन शूद्रमानं तथैव च ।
3. यथाजात्यनुरूपेण वेषेण मनुजेश्वर ॥
4. दैत्यादियोषितां कार्याः परिचारस्त्रियः सदा ।
5. महाशिरा महोरस्को महानासो महाहनुः ॥
   पीनस्कन्धभुजग्रीवः परिमाणेन चोच्छ्रितः ।
   त्रितरङ्गललाटश्च व्योमदृष्टिर्महाकटिः ॥
   दृप्तश्चित्रविदा कार्यः सेनायाः पतिरूर्जितः ।
6. योधाः कार्या महाराज प्रायशो भ्रुकुटीमुखाः ॥
7. किंचिदुद्धृ(द्ध?)तवेशाश्च कार्याश्चोद्धतदर्शनाः ।
   अभ्युद्धताश्च कर्तव्या आयुधीयाः पदातयः ॥

   It should not be उद्धृत but उद्धत since gaudy and simple apparel alone is referred to over and over again. It is not 'short uniform' as Dr. Kramrisch would have it.
8. खड्गचर्मधराः कार्याः कर्णाटकवपुर्धराः ।

   Swordsmen and men with shields are not different as Dr. Kramrisch translates. It is the same foot-soldier that holds both sword and shield.
9. वरबाणधराः कार्या नग्नजङ्घाश्च धन्विनः ॥
10. नात्युद्धतेन वेषेण सोपानत्कास्तथैव ते ।

    No 'short dress' is referred to here as Dr. Kramrisch translates,

be painted in the manner described previously.[1] Warriors on elephants are to be generally dark in colour, should wear ornaments and have their hair in the jūṭaṭasara fashion.[2] The horse-riders are to dress in the northern fashion.[3] Bards are to wear gaudy apparel.[4] Veins should be visible on their necks and their sight is to be upwards.[5] Heralds are to be tawny and should look sidewards.[6] Warriors with clubs are to be almost like the Dānavas (in their form, might etc.).[7] Two opposing warriors in battle should not be depicted as swarthy and looking sidewise.[8] The Pratīhāra (door keeper) should have a demeanour neither too proud nor too calm, is to hold a staff and have a sword hanging by his side.[9] The merchants should have high turbans on their heads.[10] Musicians, dancers and critics of instruments are to wear gaudy dress.[11] The most respectable people in town and country are to be depicted with their hair all slowly silvering over with

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1. यथोक्तलक्षणाः कार्याः कुञ्जरास्तुरगादयः ॥

2. हस्त्यारोहास्तु कर्तव्या मुहुः श्यामास्तु वर्णतः ।
केशैश्च जूटटम(स ?) रैः सालङ्कारास्तथैव च ॥

3. उदीच्यवेशाः कर्तव्यास्तुरगाणां तु सादिनः ।

4. उद्धतेन तु वेषेण कर्तव्या बन्दिनस्तथा ॥

5. सिरादर्शितकण्ठाश्च तथैवोन्मुखदृष्टयः ।

6. आह्वानकास्तु कर्तव्याः कपिलाः केकरेक्षणाः ॥

केकरेक्षण need not be 'squint eyed' as Dr. Kramrisch translates. 'Side look' seems to be a happier rendering.

7. किंचिद्दानवसंकाशाः प्रायशो दण्डपाणयः ।

It is warriors with clubs that are described as like Dānavas and not heralds as Dr. Kramrisch holds.

8. न केकरान्न कपिलान् युद्धे द्वन्द्वान् समालिखेत् ॥

9. नात्युन्नतेन वेषेण न च शान्तेन शस्यते ।
पार्श्वबद्धेन खड्गेन प्रतीहारस्तु दण्डवान् ॥

10. संवेष्टितशिरस्काश्च कर्तव्या वणिजस्तथा ।

11. गायना(का ?) नर्तका ये वा वाद्यवादविशुद्धये ? ॥
उद्धतेन तु वेषेण कार्यास्ते मनुजोत्तम ।

वाद्यवादविशुद्धये is vague and unintelligible. It might be वाद्यवादविशोधकाः. The suggested text can also mean 'those who can correctly regulate the sound of musical instruments' as Dr. Kramrisch interprets.

age, as decked with auspicious ornaments and dressed in clean raiment, as courteously disposed, affable (not haughty) and sweet tempered (good looking) by nature.[1] The workman is to be represented as engaged in his duty; while the wrestlers are to be depicted as haughty, terrible and tall, with a body of large proportions, a thick neck and a closely-cropped heavy head.[2] Bulls, lions, and other animals are to be painted with suitable back-grounds as we see them in nature *i e.*, the bulls in the meadows, the lions in the forest and so forth.[3] These descriptions given are for those not generally seen (*i.e.*, for knowing those things of these which by chance one has not seen. If one has seen actually the things described he has to paint them from nature).[4] A thing seen should be painted as it is without any difference since sādṛśyakaraṇa *i.e.*, faithful delineation is the most important factor in a picture.[5] People born in different countries are to be painted according to the form of their features, colour and apparel and the artist has to carefully use his discretion in discriminating and painting properly after ascertaining their land, occupation, position and work, their seats, their couches, their vehicles and their dress.[6] Rivers should be painted as having bodies. They are to be with vāhanas, should hold Pūrṇakumbhas

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1. आसन्नपलिताः कार्याः स्वभूषणविभूषिताः ॥
पौरजानपदाः श्रेष्ठाः शुभवस्त्रविभूषणाः ।
प्रसृतप्रवणाः प्रह्वाः स्वभावप्रियदर्शिनः ॥

Dr. Kramrisch translates as 'stooping forward 'and' ready to help.'; but this does not seem to be warranted by the text.

2. स्वकर्मोपस्करव्यग्रः कार्यः कर्मकरो जनः ।
प्रांशवः पीनगात्राश्च पीनग्रीवशिरोधराः ॥
उग्राश्च नीचकेशाश्च मल्लाः कार्यास्तथोद्धताः ।

3. वृषाः केसरिणश्चैव याश्चान्याः सत्त्वजातयः ॥
यथाभूमिनिवेशास्ते लोकं दृष्ट्वा नराधिप ।

4. एतद्रूपसमुद्देशमदृष्टानां तवेरितम् ॥

5. दृष्टं सुसदृशं कार्यं सर्वेषामविशेषतः ।
चित्रे सादृश्यकरणं प्रधानं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

6. बुद्ध्या रूपं यथावेशं वर्णं च मनुजोत्तम ।
देशे देशे नराः कार्या यथावत्तत्समुद्भवाः ॥
देशं नियोगं स्थानं च कर्म बुद्ध्वा च यत्नतः ।
आसनं शयनं यानं वेशं कार्यं नराधिप ॥

(*i.e.*, pots full of water) in their hands and have their knees bent.[1] In drawing mountains the peak(śikhara) is to be shown at the top of the head.[2] The earth is to be shown with the islands for its hands ?![3] The oceans are to be painted as bearing jewelled jars and having the śikhara mudrā on their hand.[4] In the halo of the ocean (personified) there should be water depicted.[5] A sign of water (wavy lines) is to be depicted about the tip of their weapons.[6] Kumbha (pot) is to be drawn for representing nidhi (treasure) in general. Śaṅkha is to be drawn for Śaṅkhanidhi, Padma for Padmanidhi and so forth for other varieties *i.e.*, Mahāpadma, Makara, Kacchapa, Mukunda, Kunda, Nīla and Vara.[7] Every detail of an activity should conform to the mūrti (body of figure) drawn.[8] Thus the divine ones should be specially marked off by an akṣamālā (rosary) and book.[9] Hereafter we pass on to the form of things as we see them actually.[10] The

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1. सरितां स शरीराणां वाहनानि प्रदर्शयेत् ।
पूर्णकुम्भकराः कार्यास्तथा नामितजानवः ॥
2. शैलानां शिखरं मूर्ध्नि दर्शयेन्मनुजोत्तम ।
3. द्वीपानां च करैः कार्यं तथा भूमण्डलं शुभम् ॥ ?

This line is unintelligible. But Dr. Kramrisch somehow suggests some meaning.

4. ....राजंस्तथा शिखरपाणयः ।
रत्नपात्रकराः कार्याः सागरा मनुजोत्तम ॥
5. समुद्राणां प्रभास्थाने सलिलं तु प्रदर्शयेत् ।
6. आयुधानां च तच्चिह्नं किञ्चिन्मूर्धनि दर्शयेत् ॥

Here Dr. Kramrisch's translation of मूर्धनि as the head of the ocean is not appropriate. It is the tip of the weapon meant. The personified ocean holds the weapon in the hand and it can never be on the head.

7. निधीनां दर्शयेत् कुम्भं शङ्खं शङ्खस्य दर्शयेत् ।
पद्मं पद्मस्य राजेन्द्र शेषाणामनुरूपतः ॥

There is no question of 'tank' here. निधि is treasure. Treasure in general is represented by a pot. The other special types of treasures (navanidhi) are also given later. Dr. Kramrisch does not correctly translate the Nidhi portion.

8. कार्यस्यावयवाः कार्याः स्वदेहसदृशाः पृथक् ।
9. दिव्यानां दर्शने चिह्नमक्षमालां च पुस्तकम् ॥
10. अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि रूपं यद्यस्य दृश्यते ।

sky is to be colourless and full of birds.[1] The heavens are to be full of stars.[2] The earth is to be wild and arid or marshy and full of water according to its soil.[3] The mountain is to be drawn with chains of rocks, peaks, mountain colours, trees, waterfalls (mountain streams) and snakes.[4] The forest is to be shown as possessing different trees, birds and beasts.[5] Water is to be depicted in picture by a number of fish, tortoises, swans and other aquatic animals.[6] By means of picturesque temples, palaces and bazaar streets and beautiful royal highways is to be depicted a town in picture.[7] A village is to be shown by drawing roadways with some gardens and groves on either side.[8] All fortresses are to be shown as having a suitable background, a rampart wall, battlements and mountains.[9] The bazaars are to be painted as having all wares; the ādhānabhūmi (āpānabhūmi?) is to be full of men busy drinking wine.[10] Gamblers are to be shown without an upper cloth; the losers are to be painted sorrowful and the winners full of joy.[11] The battlefield is to be

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1. आकाशं दर्शयेद्विद्वान् विवर्णं खगमा(सं ?)कुलम् ॥
2. तथैव दर्शयेद्राजंस्तारकामण्डितं दिवम् ।
3. भूमिं च जाङ्गलानूपमिश्रां स्वैः स्वैस्तथा गुणैः ॥

   Dr. Kramrisch's translation here does not take into account the two words जाङ्गल and अनूप.
4. पर्वतं तु शिलाजालैः शिखरैर्धातुभिर्द्रुमैः ।
   निर्झरैर्भुजगैश्चैव दर्शयेन्नृपसत्तम ॥
5. वनं नानाविधैर्वृक्षैर्विहङ्गैः श्वापदैस्तथा ।
6. तोयं च दर्शयेद्विद्वाननन्तैर्मत्स्यकच्छपैः ॥
   पद्माक्षैश्च महाराज तथान्यैर्जलजैर्गणैः ।
7. देवतावेश्मभिश्चित्रैः प्रासादापणवेश्मभिः ।
   नगरं दर्शयेद्विद्वान् राजमार्गैश्च शोभनैः ।
8. वमत्या दर्शयेद्ग्रामं किञ्चिदुद्यानभूषितम् ॥

   The word वमत्या has no meaning. It might be वर्त्मना.
9. सर्वेषामथ दुर्गाणां कर्तव्यं दर्शनं तथा ।
   स्वभूमिविनिवेशेन वप्राट्टालकपर्वतैः ॥
10. पण्ययुक्तास्तु कर्तव्यास्तथैवापणभूमयः ।
    आधा(पा ?)नभूमिः कर्तव्या पानयुक्ता(क्त ?)नराकुला ॥
11. उत्तरीयविहीनांश्च द्यूतसक्तान् प्रदर्शयेत् ।
    जिताञ्शोकसमायुक्तान् हृष्टाँल्लब्धजयांस्तथा ॥

suggested by drawing the caturaṅgabala (cars, elephants, horses and footmen), warriors furiously fighting, and blood flowing about the corpses of dead soldiers.[1] The burial ground is to be suggested through (funeral) piles of logs and dead bodies.[2] A way is to be shown by drawing caravans fully loaded.[3] Night is to be suggested by painting the moon and stars, thieves stealthily approaching and people fast asleep.[4] In the first half of the night is to be shewn the Abhisārikā; and the dawn is to be shown by the red streak and the cock's crow.[5] The day is to be shown by men being drawn as actively at work.[6] The evening Sandhyā is to be shown by painting the dvijas (Brāhmaṇas) engaged in contemplation.[7] Darkness is to be suggested by thieves moving about the house.[8] Moonlight is to be shown by the bloom of the blue waterlily.[9] (............?). The heat of the sun is to be shown by depicting fatigued people.[10] The spring reason is to be

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1. चतुरङ्गबलोपेतां प्रहरद्भिर्नरैर्युताम् ।
   मृतावयवरक्ताढ्यां रणभूमिं प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
2. चिताकुणपसंयुक्तं श्मशानं च तथा नृप ।
3. युक्तं सभारैरुष्ट्राद्यैर्मार्गं सार्थं(र्थैं ?)प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
4. सचन्द्रग्रहनक्षत्रां तथा दर्शितलौकिकाम् ।
   आसन्नतस्करां रात्रिं दर्शयेत् सुप्तमानवाम् ॥

   The translation of लौकिकान् by those engaged in wordly pleasures as given by Dr. Kramrisch is, though doubtful, the best possible explanation under the circumstances.

5. प्राग्रात्रे दर्शयेत्तत्र तथा चैवाभिसारिकाम् ।
   सारुणो म्लानदीपश्च प्रत्यूषो रुतकुक्कुटः ॥
6. कर्मव्यग्रजनप्रायः कर्तव्यो वान(स ?)रस्तथा ।

   'Or a man should be drawn as if ready for work' given by Dr. Kramrisch shows that this is an alternative to suggest dawn. It is not so. The text means differently. Active work suggests day time (midday).

7. द्विजैर्नियमभिर्युक्तां रक्तां सन्ध्यां प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
8. तमसो दर्शनं कार्यं वासे संसर्पकैर्नरैः ।
9. कुमुदानां विकाशे(से ?) च ज्योत्स्नां चन्द्रे प्रदर्शयेत् ॥

   The next two lines are unintelligible here. How Dr. Kramrisch translated them into 'petals of the lotus flower should be closed' etc., is not clear.

10. प्राणिनां क्लेशतप्तानामादित्येन(त्यस्य ?) निदर्शनम् ।

shown by drawing trees full of blossoms) cuckoos and bees, and men and women gay and happy.[1] Summer is to be shown by sketching animals under the shade of trees, buffaloes bathed in mud and dried-up lakes.[2] Overhanging clouds (full of water), the rainbow, the lightning, and birds biding in the trees and lions and tigers in their dens are suggestive of the rainy season.[3] The Śarat season is shown by trees full of fruits, fields of ripe corn and sheets of water full of swans and lotuses.[4] Hemanta (winter) is depicted by a misty atmosphere, and barren earth with a dew-besprinkled surface.[5] Śiśira (cold season) is to be shown by drawing joyous crows and elephants, shivering men and a dewy atmosphere.[6] By a look at the fruits of blossoms of trees, the mirth and joy of people, in short by a look at the world around one has to know the seasons.[7]

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1. वृक्षैर्वसन्तजैः फुल्लैः कोकिलामधुपोत्कटैः ॥
   प्रहृष्टनरनारीकं वसन्तं च प्रदर्शयेत् ।
2. क्लान्तैः कार्यं नरैर्ग्रीष्मं मृगैश्छायागतैस्तथा ॥
   महिषैः पङ्कमलिनैस्तथा शुष्कजलाशयम् (यैः ?) ।
3. विहङ्गैर्द्रुमसंलीनैः सिंहव्याघ्रैर्गुहागतैः ॥
   तोयनम्रघनैर्युक्तं (?) सेन्द्रचापावभूषणैः ।
   विद्युद्विद्योतनैर्युक्तां प्रावृषं दर्शयेत्तथा ॥
4. सफलद्रुमसंयुक्तां पक्वसस्यां वसुन्धराम् ।
   सहंसपद्मसलिलां शरदं तु तथा लिखेत् ॥
5. सबाष्पसलिलस्थानं तथा लूनवसुन्धरम् ।
   सनीहारदिगन्तं च हेमन्तं दर्शयेद्बुधः ॥
6. हृष्टवायसमातङ्गं शीतार्तजनसङ्कुलम् ।
   शिशिरं तु लिखेद्विद्वान् हिमच्छन्नदिगन्तरम् ॥
   वृक्षाणां पुष्पफलतः प्राणिनां महतस्तथा ।
   ऋतूनां दर्शनं कार्यं लोकान् दृष्ट्वा नराधिप ॥

* GṂ - SK̑HŎ

BY

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As the antecedent of Sanskrit *gácchāmi* (whose root syllable must have been originally unaccented)[1], Bartholomæ set up Indo-European * *gṃ-sk̑hṓ*—(*See* Handbuch der. altiran. Dial. section 146 and Kuhn's zeitschrift XXVII, 366 ff.).

Brugmann did not regard this reconstruction to be satisfactory, but held *sk̑* and not *sk̑h* as the original form (*See* Grundriss. English Translation. Volume I, sections 400, 475, 552, 557). His conjecture was as follows:—*sk̑* was converted into *sś* in the primitive Āryan period which passed into *tś* (the change of *tś* from *sś* being not an uncommon phenomenon), and this became in its turn *cch* and he instances *pacchás* 'pada by pada' from * *pat-śas* (See *ibid.* section 351) by way of illustration.

Kuhn subscribed to this view as early as 1854 [*See* Über das alte *s* and einige damit Verbundune lautwicklung, Kuhn's zeitschrift 3, p. 328 ff. Also compare Ascoli, Die entstehung der Sanskrit tenuis palatalaspirata Kuhn's zeitschrift 16 (1867), pages 442-449.]

Hirt also agrees with this standpoint. For he says, "Indogermanic *sk̑* ist zweifellos unter gewissen Umstünden im Ind. durch *cch* Vertreten." [H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik. Teil I. Heidelberg 1927. Section 222, page 245. Compare also Wackernagel Altindische Grammatik 1, (1896), section, 134, page 157.][2]

H. B. Darbishire (*See* Relliquiæ Philologicæ: or essays in Comparative Philology Cambridge 1895, edited by R.S. Conway.

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1. *See* J. O. R. M., Volume VIII, Part IV, p. 348, f. n.. Bartholmae. IF. Anz. 20, 162. H. Hirt. Idg. Gr. Teil V. p. 188.
2. *See also* H. Hirt, Idg. Gr. Teil IV. Heidelberg. 1928. Section 102, p. 232.

" The Sanskrit liquids ", Chapter II, p. 215) observed that Indo-European palatal *k* became *s*, the dental sibilant, both in Armenian and in Zend, while in Sanskrit it became the palatal sibilant *ś* and proceeded to observe that the proto-Indo-European reconstructed form for the Sanskrit *cch* is only * *sk* which in Iranian became *s* and in Armenian *ś*, for Zend *s* is only a *pis aller* for *sk* as shown by the variant *p* in the Avesta. (Brugmann. Grundriss. I, section 397.)

Leonard Bloomfield also (cf. " The Indo-European Palatals in Sanskrit " Volume 32. The American Journal of Philology, p. 45) says to the same effect that Sanskrit *cch* in *gácchati* comes from the primitive Āryan * *tś* < * * IE. *sk*.

But Brugmann and others (*See* Grundriss. Engish translation Volume I, section 553, page 406) are of opinion that the antecedent of Sanskrit *chinád-mi*, " I cut off, tear " Latin, *Scindo* ; Gothic, *Skáidan*, 'to divide, separate ;' O. H. G. *Scintan* is the Indo-European * *skhail—skhaid*.

Why do these scholars here alone assume *skh* instead of *sk* ? The answer is obvious. It is Grimm's law of Germanic sound-shift that necessitates such an assumption here. But in the previous case, one seems to be at liberty to assume even *sk* without in any way coming into direct conflict with any established law in Indo-European linguistics.

Brugmann and others seem to have set up IE. * *sk* as the antecedent of *cch* owing perhaps to the belief that the change of *tś* into *cch* had taken place in the primitive Āryan. [This change peculiarly belongs no doubt to the separate history of Indian. Pāṇini describes it under the sūtras स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः (P. 8, 4, 40). शश्छोऽटि (P. 8, 4, 63) and खरि च (p. 8, 4, 55) so that तद् शिवः is converted into तच्छिवः]

But the evidence of such a change in primitive Āryan is not conclusive. Therefore the more serviceable IE reconstruction would be simply * *gm̥-skhó*—[1], for the purpose of reconstruction is not to furnish a picture of the parent language, for its own sake, but a background of the historical relations. In short,

1. I owe this suggestion to my revered Professor Mm. Kuppuswami Śāstrigal.

"the reconstructions are only weighed formulæ of correspondence plus as much interpretation as the evidence permits."[1]

Uhlenbeck (*See* A manual for Sanskrit Phonetics) adopts the form * *gm̥-skhṓ* but does not indicate how this reconstruction is more satisfactory than * *gm̥-skṓ*—; so does Thumb (*See* Handbuch des Sanskrit. 1 Teil Grammatik, section 151, page 113.)

Comment is needless on the more satisfactory nature of the reconstruction * *gm̥skhṓ*—. It easily dispenses with the postulation of the change of *tś* into *cch* in primitive Āryan (which is questionable) and it also more easily and conveniently explains the presence of palatal voiceless aspirate *ch* in Sanskrit *gácchati*.

Fick no doubt seems to be inclined to adopt the hypothesis put forward here although he does not say it in so many wosds (*See* Vergleichendes Wörturbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen I Teil. Göttingen 1890, page 34).

In this connection, we have to remember the well known difficulty of the verb-formations in Greek *skídnēmi, pítnēmi, kírnēmi, pílnamai* (G. Meyer Gr. Gr.^{2} section 497^2; Brugmann Gr. Gr.^{2} page 156).

The only plausible explanation as H. B. Darbishire says (*See* The Sanskrit liquids Chapter II. The second period page 218, op. cit.) is that offered by Moulton (Class. Rev. Volume III, p. 45 b. *cf. also* Brugmann l. c. p. 236, Per Persson, Zur Wurzelerweilerung etc. page 176) is that *skídnēmi* belongs to a root *sq[h]aid*^{t}, *sqhid*^{t}, whence comes the Latin *scindo* Greek. *schízō*,[2] but the Greek *skidánnumi* to a √*sqhed*, and that the other verbs were formed analogically (Per Persson analyses the root differently but agrees in principle).

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1. *Cf.* Carl D. Buck, "The Notation of reconstructed IE forms." Language Volume II. 1926, page 102.

2. *Vide* H. Hirt. Idg. Gr. Teil IV. Section 131, p. 343. *Also see* Fick, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen, I Teil, p. 567.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals: by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.; Kamala Lectures, published by the Calcutta University; pp. xix, 242; Price Rs. 2-8-0. Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras. 1935.

It rarely falls to the lot of men of affairs, especially in this country, to have the time or inclination for philosophic speculation, even where they do not lack the training for it. Though it is true in a sense that every man is willy-nilly a philosopher, such stray philosophising as one inevitably finds indulged in by our public men is remarkable only for its dangerous fragmentariness. It is therefore very refreshing to come across a volume like this, bearing on a subject of great interest to the man in the street as well as the philosopher, and containing such closely knit, carefully balanced reasoning, as one has learned long to associate with the author, both as lawyer and as statesman.

The subject, we are told, was deliberately chosen by the author in preference to a constitutional topic suggested to him by the representative of the founder of the Kamala Lectures. The task set himself by the lecturer was thus in a sense a labour of love. Besides the Preface and an Introductory Chapter, the book comprises twelve chapters. The second, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth chapters relate to general topics such as changes in ethico-legal conceptions, charges against Hindu Ethics, moral progress and so on. The remaining chapters deal with changing moral ideals under particular heads, such as woman, caste etc. The range of literature, Eastern and Western, laid under contribution is extensive. The bulk of traditional learning in India comprising Śruti, Smṛti, Itihāsa and Purāṇa has been fully utilised and the material considered in the light of ideas derived from Lecky, Hobhouse, Westermarck and others. The main thesis is that Hindu moral ideas have not been static, but have changed with the times, adapting themselves to new circumstances, yet without any break of continuity. This conclu-

sion is clearly and unassailably established in the course of the book. With characteristic caution, while he admits the need for legislation in social matters, he yet recognises the possibility of some legislation being unsuitable, as far in advance of public opinion; while noting the continuity in the development of Hindu moral ideals, he cannot but condemn the claim of eternality for the Sanātanadharma. All this is very much as it should be. And so in the main is the reply to foreign critics, who err grievously in comparing the teaching of one religion with the practice of another, lack historical perspective, and fail to note that many of the alleged merits of Western morals are due not to religion as such, but to scientific progress, the spread of education or such other causes.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar is fully alive to the difficulty, if not impossibility of making a dogmatic pronouncement about moral progress. It is difficult, he admits, to compare the moral perfection of one epoch with another or that of one country with another. The operation of the principle of relativity has to be admitted. Even in the change from the belief in the external sanctions of morality, to that in internal sanctions, one cannot be absolutely certain that the change has been for the better. Heaven and hell seem to be "superstitions" that "often become essential elements of happiness." In all this uncertainty, one would expect the almost inevitable conclusion that moral progress is itself a superstition. Yet our author nowhere draws this conclusion. He still seems to pin his faith to the growth of rationalism and the replacement of authoritarian morality by rational morality.

The summary of the principles peculiar to Hinduism is in some ways telling. Most notable are the first and the last in his list, the doctrine of karma and the doctrine of adhikāribheda. But sandwiched in between are some other principles, like ahiṃsā and toleration, which are hardly likely to pass unchallenged. Again, the statement that the teaching of identity between the Jīva and Brahman " affords a valuable hypothesis of the origin of the notion of obligation ", though quite correct, is not self-evident, as seems to have been assumed.

We are grateful to Sir Sivaswami Aiyar for this clear and dispassionate account of Hindu moral development.

S. S. S.

THE SAMKHYAKARIKA OF ISVARAKRSNA: EDITED BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, WITH INTRODUCTION, TEXT IN SANSKRIT AND TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION AND NOTES. PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY, NO. 3, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Rs. 2. 4 sh.

The first edition of the book under review was published in 1930 for the benefit of the philosophy students appearing for the B.A. degree examination of the Madras University. The usefulness of the book is proved by the appearance of its second edition so soon. As indicated in the Preface, the earlier edition has been improved by revision and addition. Under the latter come the extracts from an unpublished commentary in the Adyar Mss. Library, of late date, whose author, like Vijñānabhikṣu, interprets Sāṁkhya in the light of Vedānta. Mr. Sastri has pointed out where this new commentary differs in its interpretation from the earlier commentaries.

The translation and Notes are reliable and lucid; they follow the exposition of Vācaspati. In the Notes however are incorporated some interesting points found in the exposition of other commentators also. The translation seems to admit of slight improvement in certain instances: '*Śaktitaḥ pravṛtteś ca*' in Kārikā 15 (p. 43) is rendered "from its functioning through *energy*." Evidently, 'Śakti' here is the same as that used in Kārikā 9,—'*Śaktasya Śakyakaraṇāt.*' In the rendering of the first line of Kārikā 25, the word *Sāttvika* in the Nominative should have been taken as an attribute to '*Ekādaśakaḥ*' and not as qualifying '*Ahaṅkārāt*' in the Ablative, as is done.

The Appendix giving the verses of the Sāṁkhya-Kārikā quoted in Bhaṭṭagopāla's commentary on the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and the four Tables at the beginning, on Evolution and Pratyayasarga will be found useful and interesting.

The Introduction forms a substantial part of the book and contains a critical account of certain aspects of the Sāṁkhya. Though the Sāṁkhya is an early system, the works dealing with that system are of late date. Besides Īśvarakṛṣṇa's kārikās, the only early source for reconstructing parts at least of the Sāṁkhya thought, seems to be the Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali; but this harnessing of the Yoga sūtras for an account of Sāṁkhya is yet to be made. The agnosticism, pessimism, etc. of the Sāṁkhya have been dealt with everywhere. Every Darśana has its ethics,

though Keith speaks in his Sāṁkhya (Heritage of India, p. 99) of "the lack of any ethical side to the Sāṁkhya system." The ethical and practical aspects of the Sāṁkhya is contained in the Pratyayasarga and it should be properly investigated. The Introduction refutes in the opening section the theory of the Sāṁkhya being a rebel against the Upaniṣadic thought. Sections VI, VII and VIII of the Introduction form a critique of the Sāṁkhya view of evolution, plurality of Spirits, etc., based on the criticisms of the Sāṁkhya in the Vedānta sūtras. One of the chief points in any study of the Sāṁkhya is its name and this, Mr. Sastri discusses, though briefly, in section V.

In the opening section of the Introduction, the author says (p. ii) that in the Sāṁkhya, "the vision of oneness was being sought after" rather than "rebelled against" and at the end of the foot-note on this page, he adds: —"one has to hesitate before subscribing to the view that Kapila sought not to find unity in everything, but variety." But on p. v, the Introduction speaks of the akinness of the Sāṁkhya to Buddhism in its denial of the absolute and on p. vi, of the Sāṁkhya and Buddhism being two different kinds of reaction against absolutism. The Sāṁkhya is famous for its plurality in respect of Spirit, 'Puruṣabahutvam siddham'. It is hoped that this interesting idea of oneness and unity in Sāṁkhya will be developed in extenso by the author sometime.

We heartily congratulate the author on this interesting and useful publication.

V. R.

THE SAHITYARATNAKARA OF YAJNANARAYANA DIKSITA AND THE RAGHUNATHABHYUDAYA OF RAMABHADRAMBA. BULLETINS OF THE SANSKRIT DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. EDITED BY DR. T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.

When the Prince of Wales programmed to visit South America, he thought of picking up some Spanish. The Reuter flashed the news all over the globe that he had mastered that language in the impossible time of a few weeks. This, loyal ladies and gentlemen read with a thrill; but a western savant reviewing one of the above poems on king Raghunātha of Tanjore contemptuously dismissed the description of the hero's scholarship as absurd and suggested the diversion of the energies of the editor.

King Raghunātha was no amateur litterateur or dilettante. A circle of most fastidious critics who peopled his court acclaimed his scholarship in art and letters. The authors of the very foundation of modern Carnatic music judged and praised his mastery of the Vīṇā when he gave his maiden performance. If Tanjore has become the by—word for music, if Śāstraic scholarship flourished as richly as the 'kalama' and the 'kadalī' in the Agrahāras on the banks of the Cauvery and its branches, it is all due to the true love of knowledge of the princes of Tanjore. And on the field of battle, Raghunātha might not have been as great as other heroes of Indian History, but certainly he was a greater warrior than the modern general who 'fights' from a snug room with a map on his table or, if on the field, from a gun-proof distance.

Dr. Chintamani has done well in issuing in print these valuables in the Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjore. That these two poems belong to the small but important class of Historical Poems in Sanskrit adds to their value; and all the more is the interest attaching to the second poem which is the work of a poetess, one of the many that adorned king Raghunātha's court, as Rāmabhadrāmbā herself describes towards the close of her poem. That these ladies were great scholars, masters of the arts of music and dancing and gifted poets and were more truly cultured than the modern blue-stocking is hardly any exaggeration.

The energy spent on the publication of original texts in MSS. is hardly ill-spent, less ill-spent than that spent in publishing instead one's researches. And to judge the importance of a thing, it must not be forgotten that proximity is often times as necessary as distance.

V. R.

THE ADVAITAVIDYĀMUKURA*

BY

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Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, the famous litterateur, and minister of Tirumula Nāyak, refers in his *Nala-caritra-nāṭaka*[1] to one of his ancestors, Raṅga Rāja, as the author of several works, such as the *Advaitavidyāmukura* and the *Vivaraṇadarpaṇa*. This Raṅga Rāja is none other than the son of Ācāṉ Dīkṣita and the father of the celebrated Appayya Dīkṣita. From the latter's acknowledgment of indebtedness to his father's instruction, it is evident that Raṅga Rāja was a scholar of no mean order; but the only reference to his works seems to be in the nāṭaka above-mentioned, and there is little direct knowledge of the works themselves. The Oriental Manuscripts Library at Mysore has the proud distinction of owning a fragmentary copy of the *Mukura*, under the title *Advaitamukura*[2]; and this shorter name would seem to have been applied to the same work as is evident from some manuscripts of the *Nala-caritra-nāṭaka*. The *Vivaraṇa-darpaṇa* of which there is a single manuscript in Nandināgarī script—again fragmentary—in the Tanjore Palace Library,[3] is probably the work of Raṅga Rāja. It is here sought to give an account of the contents of the manuscript of the *Advaitamukura* as now available to us in the Mysore Library.

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The manuscript extends only to the end of the first pariccheda.[4] The first pages are wanting. In spite of what is

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* A paper presented to the All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, December, 1935.

1. See edition in the Bālamanoramā Series, p. 3.
2. No. 3353.
3. No. 7064, in the *Descriptive Catalogue* by P. P. S. Sastri. The present paper owes much to the information supplied by this scholar and by Mr. M. Hiriyanna.
4. It is called " pramāṇa-(bhāva)-pratiphalana."

thus missed, what is left forms a fairly self-contained whole. Like the *Advaitasiddhi* of Madhusūdana, it is an attempt to re-establish advaita by answering dualist attacks. The topics covered are almost the same as those treated in the *Siddhi*, in the first hundred pages (of the Kumbakonam edition). The arguments met are the same; and the similarity very often extends to the replies too. Such differences as there are belong to the order of treatment. The refutation of the superiority of perception, the application of the apaccheda-nyāya etc., thus occur at the very end of Raṅga Rāja's exposition, while Madhusūdana finds a place for them early in his discussion. The pūrvapakṣin's position is stated in one lot by Raṅga Rāja, while Madhusūdana lets it develop gradually in answer to various replies of the Siddhāntin. But the nerve of the argument is the same in both writers. It is impossible to judge conclusively on the material before us, which of these is indebted to the other; while the agreement not merely in the pūrvapakṣa but also in the siddhānta precludes the position that each was absolutely independent of the other. It would appear necessary to postulate at least a common source of inspiration for both writers, a source we have so far not discovered.

Another tantalising problem set by the manuscript is that of Raṅga Rāja's identity with the Advaitavidyācārya mentioned so frequently by Appayya in the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*. The name might have been applied to Raṅga Rāja, either because of his authorship of the *Advaitavidyāmukura* or because Appayya got his Advaita-vidyā from his father.[1] The matter could be settled if one could trace to the *Mukura* any of the doctrines attributed distinctively to the Advaitavidyācārya. But the fragment we have of the *Mukura* does not treat any such topic and we are still left in the region of conjecture. The view of reflection propounded by the Advaitavidyācārya, as expounded in the second pariccheda of the *Siddhāntaleśa*, is said to conform to the position of Vidyāraṇya; it is that the reflection is a superimposition and not identical with the prototype, as the author of the *Vivaraṇa* holds. The position of Raṅga Rāja on this topic would be conclusive; but unfortunately all that we have is an exposition and adoption of the *Pañcadaśī* view of Īśvara and the Jīva as

1. The former alternative is more likely because of the use of the appellation "advaitavidyā-kṛtaḥ" in some places; see *Siddhāntaleśa* (Kumbakonam edition), p. 272.

both reflections.[1] This amount of concurrence with Bhāratītīrtha may be significant of the further concurrence needed for the Advaitavidyācārya's doctrine of reflection. What we have may be treated as upalakṣaṇa; but it is hazardous to guess the nature of the upalakṣita.

Among the authors and works mentioned are Ānandabodha, the *Brahmasiddhi*, Citsukha and his *Tattvapradīpikā*, the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava* (of Śaṅkara, referred to as the Ācarya), the *Dṛgdṛśyaviveka*, the *Iṣṭasiddhi*,[2] the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya*, the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikās*[3], the *Pratyaktattvaviveka*, Rāmānanda, Vācaspati,[4] and the *Vivaraṇaprakāśa*.[5] There is no reference to any writer who could have been closely related in time to both Madhusūdana and Raṅga Rāja. Rāmānanda[6] is probably identical with the preceptor of Advaitānanda, the author of the *Brahmavidyābharaṇa*. Readers of the *Kalpataru* will have noticed several remarkable verbal similarities to the *Brahmavidyābharaṇa*. If Rāmānanda was old enough for Raṅga Rāja

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1. See pp. 152, 153 of the ms. (copy supplied to the Department of Indian Philosophy, University of Madras).

2. The tag "yāvanti jñānāni tāvanty ajñānāni" is attributed to the Iṣṭasiddhikāra by both Madhusūdana and Raṅga Rāja. Though this doctrine is expounded in that work, it does not find expression in that particular form; see *Iṣṭasiddhi*, p. 63.

3. Curiously enough, the Kārikās cited, beginning with "prapañco yadi vidyeta" are referred to as Śruti: " 'prapañco yadi vidyeta nivarteta na saṃśayaḥ, māyā-mātram idam dvaitam advaitam parmārthataḥ,' 'Indro māyābhiḥ puru-rūpa īyate' ityādeḥ spaṣṭam eva prapañca-mithyātva-bodhikāyāḥ śruteḥ" (p. 58). Being a statement of siddhānta there is little likelihood of this being a mere anuvāda of the Madhva view that the āgamaprakaraṇa of the *Kārikā* is Śruti. The point is intriguing and requires explanation.

4. The reference to Vācaspati is made by both Madhusūdana and Raṅga Rāja in the same context and to the same statement about advaita texts being non-subsidiary and hence purportful.

5. This appears to be another work of Raṅga Rāja's, presumably identical with the *Vivaraṇadarpaṇa*. The references to it are to be found on p. 74 and p. 135 of the manuscript.

6. The following quotation occurs on p. 140 of the manuscript.

"satye vastuni sarve'yam doṣā-'doṣanirūpaṇā |
nā'tmā-'śrayādidoṣāḥ syuḥ mithyā-bhūte'tra vastuni ||"

to cite, it is likely that Rāmānanda's pupil's work was old enough to be taken over here and there by Raṅga Rāja's son Appayya. An interesting reference is to what is called bhāvādvaita. As Prof. Hiriyanna has pointed out,[1] this view is attributed to Maṇḍana by Brahmānanda. It appears to consist in holding that the absoluteness of abhāva is not inconsistent with non-dualism, since this is interested in maintaining the unity only of positive entities. The available portion of the *Mukura* contains no ascription of the view to any particular writer. It does make it clear, however, that the view is different from that which would look upon abhāva as adhikaraṇa-svarūpa. The former is good enough as a preliminary answer to the objector, but the final position is sarvā-'dvaita, according to which the true being of everything—positive or negative—is the Absolute Spirit, Brahman.[2] The second position is just what is expounded by Maṇḍana in the *Brahmasiddhi*. It is so recognised by Appayya in the *Siddhāntaleśa*.[3] It would be very interesting to know why and by whom the other doctrine was ascribed to Maṇḍana in the first instance. Brahmānanda, who is known to make the ascription[4], cites no authority.

II

What we have of the first pariccheda is roughly divided into eleven sections. The first of these deals with the interpretation of scripture as favouring non-dualism. The well-known six marks of purport are mentioned and their consilience shown in respect of non-dualism. Duality though perceived is not ultimate. Scriptural affirmation of what is in the scope of perception would

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1923, p. 261.

2. Cp. the following passage from p. 75: "na hi trikāla-niṣedhasya pāramārthikatva-svīkāre advaita-hāniḥ, brahmā-'tirekeṇa tāttvika-bhāvā-'naṅgīkārāt. vastutas tv asya trikāla-niṣedhasya, tārkikamate prāgabhāvā-'bhāvasya pratiyogi-svarūpā-'vyatirekavat, gurumate arthā-'bhāvasya adhikaraṇa-svarūpā-'vyaktirekavac ca, brahma-svarūpād avyatirekaḥ. tad uktam 'nivṛttir ātmā mohasya' iti."

3. "atha ke'yam avidyā-nivṛttiḥ? ātmai ve 'ti brahmasiddhi-kārāḥ" 4th pariccheda, p. 434.

4. See p. 112, *Laghucandrikā* (Kumbakonam edition).

Even the reference to bhāvādvaita in the *Siddhi*, p. 81, distinguishes it from sarvādvaita which goes with the doctrine of avidyā-nivṛtti as brahma-rūpa.

be repetitive and purposeless. It is not as though a new duality is affirmed; for there is no novelty about this duality; and the cognition of duality is fraught with evil besides, as made clear in more than one unambiguous scriptural text. Non-dualist texts may be distorted by the opponents as in the notorious case of "Tat tvam asi" rendered as "Atat tvam asi".[1] But there is no point in reiterating this perceptually established difference; and if this difference be ultimate, how could the knowledge of *that* alone (tam eva) lead to release? Surely the consistent dualist must insist on full knowledge of both terms in the relation of difference, not of one term alone. And the dvaitin's *tour de force* of construction can be easily paralleled by us too; the text "satyam bhidā satyam bhidā satyam bhidā" which according to him is scriptural authority for the absoluteness of difference, really teaches non-dualism; for it says that satyam, *i.e.*, the world of sat and tyat, which is the world of difference, is unreal (on the construction bhidā + asatyam); the subsequent words "bhidā 'satyam bhidā" emphasise this teaching by repetition; the word "asatyam" in this relates both forwards and backwards. While the dvaitin's cleverness is thus not unparalleled there is little to be said in favour of the interpretation he seeks to put on scriptural texts. Ātmyam (in aitadātmyam idam sarvam) he would take to mean "belonging to that self;" but ātmyam in the text is really analogous to traividyam, trailokyam etc., where no possessive sense is intended or conveyed. To say that "secondless" means without a superior is unnecessarily to restrict the sense of that term; should it mean "not second" why should that be taken as equivalent to "first" and not "third"? To say that the words like "this" and "in the beginning" should be taken to imply the reality of time and the unity of God, not of the world, is to stress certain words unduly; when it is said "This man has no horns" it is not implied that other men have horns. And the denial of a superior or equal does by no means involve the reality of the inferior for an only son has neither elder nor younger.

Nor has the dvaitin's explanation of the vācārambhaṇa text anything to be said in its favour. It is not true that all other languages are derivatives of Sanskrit. Even if they were, they

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1. For the discussion of this topic by Madhusūdana, see *Advaitasiddhi* (hereafter referred to as *AS*), pp. 293-299 (Kumbakonam edition).

too would be illusory; for on the opponent's admission, Sanskrit alone is true, eternal. The *Māṇḍūkya-Kārikās* are quite clear in stating the illusoriness of the world. The form of the verse " prapañco yadi vidyeta " etc. has misled the opponent into taking it for a tarka; but in truth it is no more a tarka than words like "Vedāḥ pramāṇam yadi". If it were a tarka, then the consequent " nivarteta na saṃśayaḥ " should be capable of being denied. But there is no justification for denying it, inasmuch as even the opponent has to admit sublation, though not its implications.

Nor may it be said that, if the illusoriness taught be real, there would be failure of non-dualism, while if it be illusory, scripture would have illusory content and so be non-authoritative. For illusoriness is equivalent to absolute non-existence and the absoluteness of non-existence does not conflict with or detract from the absoluteness of Brahman. Should the opponent, however, say that scripture teaches Brahman to be the self of all, whether positive or negative, with that he should give up his case that scripture has an illusory content; for Brahman is in that case the content.[1]

III

The pluralist seeks to establish the reality of the world on the ground of its being known, on the analogy of Brahman. The difficulty in all such arguments is that the *probans* " being known by a pramāṇa that apprehends absolute reality " is not established. Perception which apprehends the here and now cannot apprehend such reality as is unsublatable in all three times. That inference can apprehend it is yet to be proved. Scripture does apprehend it, but not as belonging to the world; further, it sublates any inferred absoluteness of the world. It is not as though Īśvara's immediate cognition of the world guarantees its reality; for His immediacy need be no more than that experienced by the juggler in respect of his tricks; knowing the

1. This section covers almost the same ground as *AS*, p. 10 and pp. 56-65. Remarkable similarities are found in several places, especially on pp. 60 and 61. The former says that apparent repetitiveness, as in dhārā-vāhika-jñāna, does not make for invalidity; the latter deals with the contention that when there is restatement for the sake of refutation there should be such marks as "yat tan na." What is attempted in this paper is the barest outline of the main argument.

illusory as illusory, He is not deluded.[1] Nor does practical efficiency imply pāramārthikatva. On the contrary it implies indeterminability; for the absolutely real has nothing to realise and cannot be efficient, while the absolutely unreal cannot be efficient even because of not existing at all; arthakriyā-kāritva is unintelligible apart from anirvacanīyatva. It is true that Brahman as witness cognises the world; but since the witness is nescience-conditioned, his cognition does not involve the absolute reality of the cognised. This world again is cognised even when there is immediate presentation of the underlying intelligence, which is said to be the sole reality; but the presentation of the real substrate is not inconsistent with the illusoriness of the world-manifestation; rather does the latter demand the former, just as darkness and its colour have to be manifested by light. What removes the darkness of primal nescience is vṛtti-jñāna, not svarūpa-jñāna.

IV

The next task attempted is the establishment of illusoriness by inference grounded on cognisability, inertness and finitude. The five definitions of illusoriness are mentioned and explained in much the same way as in the *Advaitasiddhi*.[2] The discussion owes much to the *Tattvapradīpikā* and is much in the same style as the *Siddhi*. The following points are of some interest.

(*a*) In treating the definition "pratipanno-'pādhau traikālika-niṣedha-pratiyogitvam", reference is made to the bhāvādvaita view, since the definition seems to imply the absolute reality of negation. This, however, is not the final position, since in truth the negation is not real as different from the locus of negation, Brahman.

(*b*) The difference of the non-real from the unreal is sought to be explained in this way: in nacre-silver etc. (which are non-real), because of similarity to the substrate and relation to it, the ignorance which is located in the substrate and has taken a visual form is transformed into the form of silver; and simultaneously the cogniser's nescience is transformed into the cognition of that silver; but there is no reality other than that of the substrate. In *kha-puṣpa* &c., however, there are only the defect, *viz.*, the proximity of the two words, and a mediate

1. Cp. *AS.* p. 101.
2. *AS.* pp. 2-9.

psychosis of the intellect in the form of the two words taken together; there is no objective content and hence no immediacy.

(*c*) The advaitin, so far as intellectual inquiry goes, is a sceptic, not a dogmatist. It is not our business to demonstrate illusoriness or anything else. When we have demonstrated that every other position is untenable, we are left with the witness of the condemnation. The mention of definitions and proofs is only in order to conform to this intellect of our opponents. We do not base our final conclusion on the intellect, since non-dualist realisation can come only through the grace of the Lord. In this position our author closely follows the Khaṇḍanakāra.[2]

V

The illusoriness of illusoriness is treated at some length. The sublater need not always be real, as, in the case of a rope, the snake-delusion is sublatable by a stick-delusion. The self too is the substrate of illusory illusoriness inasmuch as the Bauddhas and others have the delusion that it is illusory. But with this the self is not reduced to the same level as the world, since the reality of the former is due to self-hood and self-manifestation, not to sublated illusoriness. Illusoriness is on a par with knowability etc., in its capacity to cover both itself and that of which it is predicated. Illusoriness is part of the world; when the world is

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1. "na hy asmābhir mithyātvam anyad vā kiñcin nirūpaṇīyam asti. param nirūpyamāṇa-prapañca-khaṇḍanenaiva vayam iha caritārthāḥ. tatra tatra lakṣaṇā-' bhidhānam tu para-buddhy-anurañjanāya. . sati caivam sarva-khaṇḍane asmad-abhimata-cid-advaita-siddhiḥ. na cā 'trā'pi khaṇḍana-yukty-avakāśaḥ, antatas tatsākṣitayā'pi tatsiddhy-upapatteḥ. advaita-siddhau cā'smākam nā'tīva lakṣaṇa-pramāṇā-'daraḥ, Īśvarā'-nūgrahai-'ka-labhyatvāt tasya" (p. 78 of the ms.).

Such a position must be labelled scepticism, but it is scepticism of an even more rational type than what Bradley subscribes to: "I mean by scepticism the mere denial of any known satisfactory doctrine, together with the personal despair of any future attainment. . Such a scepticism . . may serve at least as a deliverance from spiritual oppression. . For such a scepticism all our truths without exception are mere working ideas" (Bradley: *Essays in Truth and Reality*, p. 445). Where the advaitin does better is in re-affirming "asmad-abhimata-cid-advaita-siddhiḥ."

2. See *Khaṇḍana*, para 163, verse 251.

shown to be illusory because of cognisability etc., illusoriness which is a part of the world is also shown to be illusory. The principle of excluded middle is of no service, since we do not seek to maintain that the illusoriness of illusoriness is real. Nor does the other alternative involve an infinite regress of mithyātva, since mithyātva, we have said, is analogous to prameyatva.

VI

The three *probans*—cognisability, inertness and finitude—are examined in some detail. The discussion is not very different from that of the *Siddhi*. A point of some interest relates to yogic perception. The pūrvapakṣin says that cognisability cannot mean pervasion by fruit, since this cannot apply to the past or to nityānumeyas, like merit etc. The reply to this is that there may be pervasion by fruit even in these cases when there is yogic perception. The dualist is fond of exploiting this type of perception to cover cases of impossibility like the perception of the tuccha; our author is willing to concede this; yogins may perceive the tuccha, but they would perceive it as tuccha, *i.e.*, as not practically efficient, unlike nacre-silver etc.; in this there is no detriment to advaita. It is true Citsukācārya seems to deny yogic perception, but that is only an abhyupetya-vāda; for we must admit an omniscient Īśvara to whom everything is immediate. His omniscience as the author of the Veda does not necessarily involve its pauruṣeyatva; for, as in our case, when we have learnt it, knowledge of the sense may co-exist with utterance, without preceding and determining the latter. Even pauruṣeyatva is not unacceptable; it does not follow either that validity is extrinsic, since it is known through the same causal aggregate that apprehends the cognition. Nor is there reciprocal dependence in that the validity of the Vedas depends on Īśvara's trustworthiness while the latter has to be known from the Veda; for, the latter is known even from outside the Veda, from the words of well-wishers like one's parents.

VII

The next section relates to the refutation of the allegation that the advaitin's *probans* is affected by an adjunct. The matter covered is the same as that treated by the *Siddhi*, in the two sections on sopādhikatva-bhaṅgaḥ and ābhāsa-sāmya-bhaṅgaḥ.[1] The

1. *AS*, pp. 19-20.

arguments are almost identical, the only notable distinction being that the *Siddhi* mentions the dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda, which finds no mention in the available fragment of the *Mukura*. Further in refuting the two upādhis suggested,[1] the *Siddhi* urges two objections—that in the case of dehātmaikya, sublatable by Brahman-knowledge alone, the upādhi[2] is not pervasive of the *probandum*, and that the qualification, as tending to exclude only sapakṣa, is on a par with pakṣetara; the *Mukura* mentions the latter objection in some detail, but not the fomer.[3]

VIII

Are these *probans* themselves illusory or not ? If not, there is failure of non-dualism. If they too are illusory, how can they establish anything ? This discussion covers the same ground as two sections of the *Siddhi*[4] and employs nearly the same arguments. The similarity is very great indeed in the statement of the pūrvapakṣa, especially in the mention of instances to show that the practical efficiency of delusive cognition is due to the element of cognition which is real, not to the content which is unreal, and that though the latter defines the former, it is intelligible that it is passive and does not contribute to the causality of the cognition; to exhibit this passivity of the defining element, the pūrvapakṣin in the *Siddhi* cites eleven instances; the *Mukura* mentions only six of these : " 'Now, it would be an undue extension to say that the cause is what is undefined by a content; and if the cause is what is so defined, the content too would be a cause.' If this be said, no; for though there is causality (1) for the prior non-existence of the pot in respect of the pot, (2) the non-existence of specific cognition in respect of delusion, (3) the non-observance of what is obligatorily enjoined in respect of sin, (4) the desire for heaven in respect of sacrifice, (5) the knowledge of the past etc. in respect of misery etc., and (6) the mediate knowledge of the unreal content in respect of the empirical usage about

1. In the *Siddhi*; in the *Mukura* enumeration there are five upādhis; this is because its treatment includes matter that appears in the immediately subsequent section of the *Siddhi*.

2. Svabādhakā-' bhimatā-' bādhya-doṣa-prayukta-bhānatvam.

3. Can this be taken along with others as an indication of the *Mukura* being anterior to the *Siddhi*?

4. *AS*, pp. 65-73; the sections are on asatas sādhakatvo-'papattiḥ and asatas sādhakatvā-' bhāva-bādhakam.

that, yet that which defines in each case—the pot, the cognition of difference, the observance of what is enjoined, heaven, the past etc., or the unreal—is not so (the cause). In all these cases it is intelligible that the thing which defines is indifferent and non-causal, like the qualifications 'of the Kurus' in 'the land of the Kurus is real'."

IX

The advaitin seeks to strengthen his position by setting forth indirect arguments (tarkas) in favour of the illusoriness of the world. One such argument is that if the world were independently real there would be no possibility of the cognition thereof, since no real relation is intelligible between knowledge on the one side and an inert reality standing over against it on the other. This criticism of a real relation between dṛk and dṛśya occurs as a separate section in the *Siddhi*[1], but is treated with perhaps more justification as part of the anukūla-tarka-prati-phalana in the *Mukura*. The pūrvapakṣin attempts every time to derive reality for the world on the analogy of Brahman, and *per contra* the unreality of the latter on the analogy of the world. Our author is never tired of pointing out that Brahman's reality is self-manifest; it does not depend on the illusoriness or non-illusoriness of relation to anything else; and the illusoriness of the world follows not because its relation to knowledge is illusory, but because it is cognisable, inert and so on. This is the basic ground. Hence it is that no parity can be made out between Brahman and the world even on the ground of indeterminability. It is true that we cannot define Brahman as thus or thus, yet it is real, since it is self-luminous and is not cognisable, inert or finite; the world, however is not thus. The rest of the treatment is almost identical with that of the *Siddhi*.

X

The manifestation of particular objects at stated times and through specific means is held by the opponent to be a difficulty the advaitin cannot lightly get over. The advaitin replies that since self-manifest intelligence is beginninglessly obscured by nescience, whose existence is not inconsistent with svarūpa-jñāna, it is necessary for defined intelligence to go forth through sense-

1. *AS*, pp. 73-77; anukūla-tarka-nirūpaṇa in this work covers, pp. 77-86.

channels in the form of a long ray of light as it were, in order to pervade and take on the form of each object so that the ignorance enveloping it may be destroyed. Since the generation, going forth and pervasion of the psychosis is spatially and temporarily determined, there may be pratikarma-vyavasthā. But the position is not free from difficulties. The relation between knowledge and the known is said to be one of super-imposition; but the object is not super-imposed on the psychosis-defined intelligence; and in any case if this destroys ignorance, why postulate an object-defined intelligence ? And is the ignorance destroyed one or many ? If the former, why does not every one see the pot, when Caitra sees it ? If the latter, how can even Caitra see the pot at any time since the other ignorances will always obscure ? In the statement and refutation of these objections, there is great similarity between the *Siddhi*[1] and the *Mukura*. The treatment in the former is a trifle more elaborate, discussing in some detail the nature of the psychosis, the analogues to the removal of ignorance etc. The *Mukura* undertakes a justification in some detail of the position that darkness is positive and not the mere absence of light. The discussion comes in appropriately since the advaitin has to use the analogies of physical light dispelling darkness by reaching up to the object, and of physical darkness re-obscuring when a lamp etc. is withdrawn. The argument proceeds on the possession of colour by darkness; it is not even that it does not possess touch, since as in the case of smoke, touch may exist without being perceptible (the eye alone can sense the touch in smoke). The reasoning is reminiscent of the *Tattvapradipīkā;* for a fuller discussion the author refers us to his *Vivaraṇaprakāśa*.

XI

The pluralist too has recourse to tarka to disprove non-dualism. What he considers to be *reductio ad absurdum* is not really so. The consideration of these pratikūla-tarkas[2] constitutes the next section. The objections mainly relate to (1) the non-existence of similarity between Brahman and the world, while similarity is a cause of super-imposition, (2) the partlessness of Brahman, making it impossible for it to function as a substrate, which has to be partially manifest, (3) the non-existence of memory impressions as a cause of the super-imposition, there

1. *AS*, pp. 86-94. 2. Cp. *AS*, pp. 94-102.

being no other real world to produce such impressions, (4) the negation of the world relating to an absolutely real world, on the analogy of the *Vivaraṇa* statement that the negation of silver relates to the absolutely real silver, (5) the need for the reality of cogniser, body, organs, defects, etc., (6) the reality of the sublating cognition, as otherwise there would be infinite regress, (7) the absolute non-existence of bondage calling for no effort for its removal, (8) the impossibility of what is removed by Brahman-intuition being super-imposed thereon, on the analogy of sin removable by Setudarśana not being super-imposed on the Setu, and so on. The reply consists in showing that all that the objector requires as real may be assumptive and yet discharge the functions required. Brahman has no parts; but nescience presents it as having parts. Nescience is itself a super-imposition; the how of it is unintelligible and the unintelligibility is constitutive of its very nature; self-dependence etc., are not defects in the case of what is illusory. Nor is it that when Brahman is manifest ignorance is impossible; there may be presentation of illusory ignorance just as for owl etc., there is presentation of intense darkness even in the mid-day sun. It is not possible to argue that on the analogy of the unreality of causes like memory-impression, the substrate too may be unreal; for Brahman's reality (to repeat) is established by scripture, not by inference or presumption. The rest of the discussion is identical with that in the *Siddhi*.[1] The reply of the *Mukura* to the analogy of sin and Setudarśana is interesting. It is apparently conceded that the world is removable by Brahman-knowledge, obtained through contemplation. But this removability by knowledge itself constitutes illusoriness. How then can there be established reality which is its opposite ? And if the *probans* itself be not conceded, the *probandum* would still be non-established.

The pūrvapakṣin also mentions conflict with scriptural texts about creation of the world etc., by Īśvara. This is met, in the same way as in the *Siddhi*, by the analogy of the juggler, who resolves on and creates his magic world in a certain order and so on. The author of the *Mukura* brings in here a discussion of the relation of Īśvara and Jīva, adopting the view of the first section of the *Pañcadaśī*, which treats both as reflections. This is consistent with the possibility of Raṅga Rāja and the Advaita-

1. *AS*, pp. 94-102.

vidyācārya being identical; for we are told in the *Siddhāntaleśa* that the Advaitavidyācārya set forth the view of reflection consistent with the position of Vidyāraṇya.[1]

XII

The final section of the first pariccheda is concerned with the refutation of the validity of perception etc., in regard to absolute reality. Where there is perception of finites as real, it is the reality of Brahman that is manifest therein. Unsublatability in all three times cannot be known by perception which can tell us at best that sublation has not arisen so far, not that it does not exist. Practical efficiency, as has been often said, is no warrant for absolute reality, as even the rope-snake causes fear and trembling. The difference between the empirically real and the merely apparent consists in sublatability by Brahman-knowledge alone or anything short of that. It cannot be made out that perception as a class is a superior pramāṇa; for if perception alone is effective in certain ways as in removing confusion of directions (diṅmoha), inference alone can apprehend primal atoms. Nor can perception claim superiority on the ground of being first in the field; for the upakramanyāya would apply only where there is conflict; but since perception and scripture have different contents, the former relating to empirical and the latter to absolute reality there is no conflict at all. For the same reason there is no upajīvya-virodha either. Even if conflict be admitted, it is the earlier that should be sublated on the apaccheda-nyāya.[2] We do not subscribe to the view that all scripture is superior to perception, but only that purportful scripture is so

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1. advaitavidyā-kṛtas tu pratibimbasya mithyātvam abhyupagacchatām trividha-jīva-vādinām vidyāraṇya-guru-prabhṛtīnām abhiprāyam evam āhuḥ (*Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, pp. 272-273).

2. In this connection both the *Siddhi* and the *Mukura* cite Ānandabodha's verse

"tatparatvāt paratvāc ca nirdoṣatvāc ca vaidikam |
pūrvasya bādhakam nā'yam sarpa ityādivākyavat ||"

and the *Nyāyāmṛta* criticism thereof:

"tatparatvam asiddhatvāt paratvam vyabhicārataḥ |
nirdoṣatā-' nyathā-siddheḥ prābalyam nai'va sādhayet ||"

But while the *Siddhi* gives them in this, the chronological order, the *Mukura* cites them in what is for the advaitin the logical order, the latter appearing first as the pūrvapakṣa.

superior; purportfulness is determined by non-subsidiariness to any other purpose.[1] The realist cannot but admit that certain perceptions are delusive. This he sets down not to their sublatability, but to the ascertainment of defect. But the presence of defect is by no means patent; its existence has to be ascertained from the fact of sublation. Ether is really colourless, though perceived as blue; the perception is not to be set aside on the ground that the defect of distance accounts for it; for it may well be that proximity too is a defect and that this accounts for the non-perception of blueness near by.[2] The invalidity of the perception has therefore to be ascertained through its sublation by revelation which teaches that ether is colourless. It is on the ground of this sublation that the perception is understood to be tainted by the defect of distance. Further his argument is not really helpful to the realist; "in your unholy anxiety to see that its sublatability by verbal testimony is remedied, you fall into the jaws of the sublatability of perception by inference; this conforms to the maxim of fearing the scorpion and falling into the mouth of the snake."[3]

XIII

Though the manuscript is fragmentary and the present account is but a meagre outline, enough has been said, it is hoped, to show the great interest of the work both from the

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1. The treatment of the injunction to cook the golden grains (kṛṣṇalam śrapayet) is interesting. It is usual to say that the primary sense of cooking is abandoned here, because of the impossibility of performance (See *Siddhāntaleśa*, pp. 246). But according to our author, there is no such abandonment since the word "cook" has different senses in different contexts; if it means mere heating in the case of golden grains, that is no other than its legitimate sense; see p. 161 of the ms: na khalu vikḷttiḥ śrapaṇa-śabdā-' rthaḥ, aikarūpyā-' bhāvāt. na hi śyāmāka-taṇḍulādau tāvat-kāla-śrapyamāṇe 'pi tathā vikḷttiḥ tāvatā kālena yathā vrīhi-taṇḍuḷānaśrapitān śrapayati. kṛṣṇale tu tāvaty api yadi vikḷttir na syād auṣṇyam eva tu param tāvatā śrapaṇa-śaḇdā-' rtho 'nuṣṭhita eve 'ti na tātparyavad-veda-bodhita-svārtha-tyāga-śaṅkā."

2. Cp. *AS*, p. 43.

3. On the whole topic of this section, cp. *AS*. pp. 27-36, and 39-43.

historical and the doctrinal sides. It is not improbable that other fragments at least exist elsewhere. Though much of the dialectic survives in the monumental work of Madhusūdana, Raṅga Rāja's treatment has a directness and charm which make it worthy of being resuscitated and made better known. On the assumption that both derived from a common source of inspiration,[1] the *Mukura* is likely to throw light on points that are obscure in the *Siddhi* despite Brahmānanda's voluminous comment. For this and other reasons, it is hoped that experts in the collection of manuscripts will bestir themselves to find a complete version of the *Advaitavidyāmukura*.

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1. Tradition and the *Catalogus Catalogorum* assign to Madhusūdana a commentary on Appayya's *Siddhāntaleśa*. This would make him a junior contemporary of Appayya's in which case he probably was familiar with and drew on the *Advaita-vidyāmukura*. For this view of Madhusūdana's date, see *JORM*, II, pp. 97-104 The learned editor of the *Siddhāntabindu* in Gaekwad's Oriental Series holds Madhusūdana's date to have been roughly 1540-1633 A.D.; he arrives at this conclusion by a review of the evidence so far adduced, confirmed by Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, a lineal descendant of an elder brother of Madhusūdana. The period of Appayya is variously fixed at 72 years from 1522 or 1552 or 1558 (see P. P. S. Sastri's Introduction to the Vani Vilas edition of the *Siddhāntaleśa*). None of these data is inconsistent with Madhusūdana having been indebted to Raṅga Rāja's work. Mr. Divanji's opinion, that the *Siddhāntaleśa* probably mentions some of Madhusūdana's views, though not by name, is not very convincing; for there is no clear evidence of Appayya having been so much Madhusūdana's junior, if he was the latter's junior at all; and the *Siddhāntaleśa* must be taken to have been a very early work of Appayya's.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SĀMAVEDA[1]

W. Caland.

TRANSLATED BY

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It is a fact that the Vedas in the main have come down to us in the condition of redactions wherein they were arranged by generation after generation from the earliest times of which we know. We know the Ṛg Veda (the Ṛk saṁhitā) only as divided into ten books, as *dāśtayya ṛcaḥ.* The description, 'of ten existing', clearly referring to the above-mentioned division, occurs not only in the brāhmaṇas and sūtras belonging to the Ṛg Veda (Kauṣ. br., Śānkh. Śrs.), but also in the sūtras of the Sāmaveda (Lāṭy., Nidānasūtra) and of the Yajur Veda (Baudh., Āpast.). Again the division of the Sāma Veda and the Yajur Veda known to us is also known to the brāhmaṇas and the oldest sūtrakāras. Lāṭyāyana-Drāhyāyaṇa, *e.g.*, cite a sāman from the 'dvandvas', and it is known how one of the divisions (parvans) of the āraṇyagāna bore the name dvandvaparvan, because the sāmans were here given in pairs. From the Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa (II. 6. 2.) it even appears that not only was the division in three parvans known at the time of the redaction of this text, but also that the sāmans therein were arranged in the manner that obtains in the gāna known to us. In the sūtras belonging to the Yajur Veda, we find quite a number of references to chapters (anuvākas); so the prescription often occurs that in this or that operation this or that mantra must be spoken beginning with such and such words from the saṁhitā **P. 2.**
and going 'to the end of the anuvāka.' Yes, from Baudhāyana (Śrs. X. 48) it is clear that even the numbering of the anuvākas was precisely the same as is known to us. Yet another proof

1. Verslagen en Mededeelingen Der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeeling Letter Kunde. Vierde Reeks, Negende Deel. Amsterdam. Johannes Muller, (1909) pp. 1-15.

that the Vedas have in course of time remained remarkably the same. In the tradition in which they have come down to us, the Vedas are properly speaking *disjecta membra* of one great whole. A Vedic sacrifice cannot be performed singlehanded by a follower of the Ṛg Veda or of the Yajur Veda or of the Sāma Veda. For that all the three Vedas are indispensable. Though each of the Vedas, spread over the whole extent of Hindustan, has had a more or less independent existence, it is yet the most remarkable thing to perceive how, if we join together the *disjecta membra*, a completely rounded off whole is obtained. This is clear from the reconstruction of the soma sacrifice in its simplest form, the jyotiṣṭoma. The texts of the Ṛg, Yajur and Sāma Veda related to this fit into each other like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. We are only very rarely in uncertainty as to where this or that operation must be inserted in the whole.

As now the Veda forms, from the time that it is known to us, a fairly closed and rounded whole, it is difficult to follow its earlier history and development. My studies of the texts belonging to the Sāma Veda will, I flatter myself, throw some light on the development of this Veda and clear up some points in its history that have so far remained obscure or unintelligible not only to me but to all students of this Veda. A summary of these researches, which will appear in another form elsewhere, may now follow.

The texts of the Sāma Veda, taken in the narrower sense, are:

1. The Saṁhitā, which contains a collection of verses mostly from the present Ṛg Veda, though at many points it
P. 3. presents variant readings. This Saṁhitā falls into three parts:

(*a*) α the pūrvārcika
β the āraṇyakasaṁhitā.
(*b*) the uttarārcika.

2. The gānas or song-books, of which four have come down to us:

(*a*) the grāmageyagāna
(*b*) the āraṇyagāna
(*c*) the ūhagāna
(*d*) the ūhyagāna.

To the songs preserved in the gānas, the verses collected in the Saṁhitā serve as the foundation. Thus from a ṛk

(strophe) a sāman (song) is made by the introduction of the musical notation, by certain alterations (drawing out, repetition) of the words and finally by all sorts of insertions, sometimes of more or less meaningless sounds and syllables, sometimes of entire sentences or lays (stobhas). If a Vedic student destined for a Sāma-singer wants to master his material, then he must, in addition to the songs set to music, naturally also memorise the strophes, which are as it were the 'mother's lap' (yoni) of the Sāmans.

Now the drift of the pūrvārcika (with āraṇyaka saṁhitā) and the uttarārcika and of the first two song-books has so far been understood, though not on some points (*cf.* Winternitz, Gesch. der Ind. Liter. p. 143 ff.). Next to each strophe of the pūrvārcika (and the āraṇyakasaṁhitā) stands a song consisting of one part; each Sāman carries a particular name, mostly derived from the name of the ṛṣi who had 'seen' it; the Sāmans are preserved for us in the first two gānas. The arrangement of the yonis in the pūrvārcika is systematic; first come those dedicated to Agni, then to Indra and thirdly to Soma pavamāna; all are again grouped according to metre. The division and purport of the uttarārcika is on the other hand quite otherwise. In this part of the Saṁhitā we come across a great many stanzas of three verses (tṛcas), a fairly large number of stanzas of two **P. 4.**
verses (pragāthas), though also of more (four, six, seven, nine, ten and also of one). The purport of this collection of verses is purely practical: it is employed for singing in the many soma-sacrifices and in the melodies taught in the first two song-books. It has been observed that of most stanzas from the uttarārcika the first verse is also found in the pūrvārcika, and it is thence directly concluded that thereby it refers not only to the verse from this ārcika but also to the melody belonging to it as given in the first two song-books. To give one example: the first verse of the pragātha sv. II. 1.1.13 reads: *taṃ vo dasmaṃ ṛtīṣahaṃ;* with this agrees a strophe (I.3.1.5.4) from the pūrvārcika; on this strophe are given in the grāmageyagāna five Sāmans, of which the last is called the Naudhasa Sāma (grāmageya VI. 1. 37). Now, on the melody of this *Naudhasaṃ Sāmà* must the three[1] verses, indicated in the uttarārcika as third pṛṣṭhastotra, be sung[2] in the jyotiṣṭoma.

1. By partial repetition two verses have been made three.

2. *Cf.* Caland-Henry, *l'agniṣṭoma* sec. 207, and *cf.* the Sāmans in the Calcutta edition, pt. I, p. 487 with pt. III, p. 93.

If it is thus meant that the pūrvārcika contains some verses after whose sāmans (in grāmageyagāna and āraṇyagāna) some verse stanzas (contained in the uttarārcika) must be sung in the holy service, then we must expect: (*i*) that of all the stanzas (pragāthas, tṛcas, sūktas, etc.) set forth in the uttarārcika, the first verse must also occur in the pūrvārcika (or āraṇyaka-saṁhitā), so that by this indication will be decided by what melody that verse in question should be sung in the holy service, and (*ii*) thal all song-modes, mentioned in the pūrvārcika grāmageya and āraṇyakasaṁhitā-āraṇyagāna shall also find application in the great soma-sacrifices. This, however, is decidedly not the case. Winternitz expresses himself about this as follows: "We usually assume that the uttarārcika is of later origin than the Ārcika. In favour of this supposition is the circum-
P. 5. stance that the Ārcika knows of many 'yonis' as well as many song-modes, which do not occur in the songs of the uttarārcika, and that the uttarārcika contains many a song for which the Ārcika does not teach any song-mode. On the other hand the uttarārcika is yet a necessary complement of Ārcika: *this* is as it were the first, *that* the second course in the education of the Udgātar." The facts as stated by Winternitz being correct, the conclusion which we should draw therefrom according to him and others, *viz.*, that for the reasons stated the uttarārcika is later then the pūrvārcika, is altogether wrong as will appear presently. When I worked on the agniṣṭoma along with Victor Henry, now alas! no more, and came across the songs of the Sāma-Veda, I saw that the sāmans of the morning service (the prātaḥsavana) were found only in very late texts, the so-called prayogas, while all the songs of the midday and afternoon service (*mādhyaṃdinasavana, tṛtīyāsavana*), except one, were found in the third song-book, the ūhagāna, and that one in the fourth song-book, the ūhyagāna. What may be the reason for this? Why was it unnecessary to gather up the sāmans of the morning service in the ūhagāna, which yet seems to contain the songs as they were applied in practice? Simply because, as it seems to me after prolonged research, all the sāmans of the morning service were to be sung in the gāyatra-melody, and this melody might be supposed to be well-known. The Vedic student begins with this melody, composed in the sāvitrī metre (*tat svitur vareṇyam* etc.), and it is imparted in the Devatādhyāyabrāhmaṇa, while it is found as appendix to the edition of the grāmageyagāna (among the Jaiminīyas after the āraṇyagāna).

Everywhere then where in the uttarārcika stanzas or groups of strophes occur, of which the first is not mentioned in the pūrvārcika, the stanzas belong to the morning service, and no further indication of melody was necessary. Consequently, that 'the uttarārcika contains many songs (surely yonis is meant), for which the Ārcika (*viz.* the pūrvārcika) teaches no song-mode' is no ground for presuming a discord between the two texts.[1] That on the other side in the pūrvārcika-grāmageya (and āraṇyakasaṁhitā-āraṇyagāna) many yonis and melodies occur which have no connection with any in the uttarārcika is entirely correct. This is how matters stand. Besides the songs which are sung on the yonis of the uttarārcika, there were sung on numerous occasions,—*viz.*, in the placing of the sacred fire (the agnyādheya), in the pravargya ceremonial, in the mahāvrata and on other occasions—by the udgātar alone or by some of his acolytes some sāmans, and these (*i.e.* the yonis thereof) need not naturally be included in the uttarārcika, because they were all cut and dried and ready for the musical recitation. So also the mahānāmnīs which often as sung do service in the pṛṣṭhastotras. The evidence is thus lacking for our supposing that the uttarārcika is later than the pūrvārcika. And *a priori* we must expect that the uttarārcika is older than the pūrvārcika. Certainly the collected stanzas, which contain the yonis of the songs which are employed as a matter of fact in the rite, must be older than the collection which only serves to register the melodies, according to which the abovementioned songs were sung. **P. 6.**

In the considerations urged so far, the last two song-books, the ūha and ūhyagāna, were only mentioned incidentally. Whoever desires to know something more of these turns in vain to the histories of literature. Weber alone states that they are connected with the second part of the Saṁhitā, but says: 'their reciprocal connection needs a still closer study' (Vorles. Zur. Ind. Litt. gesch.,[2] p. 70). Winternitz does not even mention the **P. 7.**

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1. If Winternitz himself might have expressed himself inaccurately and meant that ūhagāna and ūhyagāna contain different songs which, according to their denomination, do not occur in the first two gānas, even then he is wrong. Superficially judged he seems to be right, yet the denomination of the Sāmans of the ūha—and ūhyagāna, as given in the Calcutta edition, is sometimes wrong, sometimes jumbled.

names in his abovementioned work. Weber's remark that they are connected with the uttarārcika is partly correct. Before however proceeding to consider the nature of these gānas and their relation to the other Sāma Veda texts, I must say something on the sūtras of this Veda.

The Śrautasūtra of Lāṭyāyana is known and published, and now also a part of the Drāhyāyaṇa[1] which almost agrees with the first. The Sāma-Vedins possess yet a number of sūtras; for us only the Maśakakalpasūtra, the Kṣudrasūtra and the Puṣpasūtra are important. The Maśaka- kalpasūtra or Ārṣeya-kalpa has not been so far studied: we are indebted to Weber for a detailed summary of its contents (Verz. der Berl. Hss. deel I under No. 297). A thorough study has taught me that this text deals with the Soma-sacrifices which are partly described in the Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa and the Ṣadviṁśa-brāhmaṇa, partly only mentioned, dealing in succession with the gavāmayana, the ekāhas, the ahīnas and the sattras. Now it is known that the different parts (parvans) into which the ūha as well as ūhyagāna are divided bear in succession, according to its contents, the names: daśarātra, saṁvatsara, ekāha, ahīna, sattra, prāyaścitta and kṣudra. Now the Maśakakalpasūtra is the driest sort of reading imaginable: it gives nearly exclusively, almost without any digression, the initial words of the couplets, on which this or that sāman is to be sung. All the sāmans mentioned in this sūtra occur precisely in the same order in the ūha- and ūhyagāna, now some from the first, and here and there some from the second gāna. As the sāmans mentioned in the Maśakakalpasūtra do not seem to contain each of the parvans
P. 8. of the two last gānas (but only reaching up to the Sattra), and thus do not comprise the so-called prāyaścitta and kṣudraparvans, I began to suspect whether the so-called Kṣudrasūtra of which Weber in his Vorlesungen zur indischen Literaturgeschichte (2nd ed. p. 92) only mentions the name and which he considers one of the latest offshoots of the Sāma-Veda, cannot perhaps be a text of the same kind as the Maśakakalpasūtra, and whether thus in this text should not be expected the practice of the Sāmans contained in the prāyaścitta and kṣudra books of the two last gānas. From the ms. of Colebrooke preserved in the India

1. This refers to Paṭalas 1-10 and 4 sūtras of 11 published by Dr. J. N. Reuter of Helsinfors in 1904. Paṭalas 11-15 have since been edided by Raghuvīra in the Journal of Vedic Studies, Vol. I. i. Jan. 1934, pp. 13-80.—Tr.

office it appeared that my surmise was correct, though I found at the same time that the style of this text differed in a remarkable manner from that of the Maśakakalpasūtra. Yet this text the old Hindu commentators held, as the citations show, to be an Ārṣeyakalpa.

As now the Maśakakalpasūtra and the Kṣudrasūtra, mutually connected, teach the application of the sāmans of the ūha- and ūhyagāna, pretty nearly in the order in which they are given in the two gānas, the conclusion is easily reached that these two song-books must have been known to the authors of these old sūtras, and that these gānas, wherein the sāmans were preserved which of old were applied in the rite, must be held to be the oldest, at least as older than the first two, which may be considered as a sort of index of melodies. In this opinion I am strengthened by the observation that in two places in the Maśakakalpasūtra the citations were of a peculiar style; thus all the sāmans mentioned were not indicated by their names, but by 'the sarūpa-song and the three following', 'the āśubhārgava-song and the five following.' This manner of indication was possible only when the author had this song-book before him. Yet now there arises another question: when the grāmageya- and āraṇyagāna aim at being a register of melodies arranged with the object that the sāmans therefrom were to be so sung in the holy service
that the first verse of a stanza in the uttarārcika agreed with a P. 9.
verse of the pūrvārcika and a corresponding melody in the grāmageya or āraṇyagāna, where was the necessity for the ūha- and the ūhyagāna being put together? And on the other side: If of old the ūha- and the ūhyagāna had existed, preserving the songs for the holy service in a cut and dried manner, why then this fuss of the pūvārcika-āraṇyakasaṁhitā with grāmageya- and āraṇyagāna? These last named texts were then to some extent superfluous. A solution of this difficulty, satisfactory in every way, has been found by a detailed study of the manner in which the sāmans are indicated in the Ārṣeyakalpa. In most cases the initial words of one or other stanza or of a verse from the uttarārcika are given, after which the name of the melody follows; without fail one finds the sāman on all verses of the stanza in question in the ūha- or the ūhyagāna. On some occasions a detailed specification is given, as *e.g.* Maś. K. S. IX. 9: *auśanasyarkṣu vaiśvajyotiṣam yat pra gāyateti.* The Sāman here mentioned is naturally found in our ūhagāna (XIX, 1.7, *see*

Sāma Veda Cal. Edn. Part III. p. 82). The words of the sūtra mean clearly: " (he sings) on the verses of the auśana sāman the melody Vaiśvajyotiṣa, indicated by the initial words *pra gāyata.*" The verse indicated by these initial words is found only in the pūrvārcika (I. 6. 1. 5. 3), and the melody belonging to it is really the vaiśvajyotiṣa, to be found in grāmageyagāna XV. 2. 20 (B.I. part II, p. 132). The addition 'indicated by the first words: *pra gāyata*' was here necessary, because there are two other Sāmans called vaiśvajyotiṣa, belonging to other yonis. If one compares the Sāman from the ūhagāna with that from the grāmageyagāna, one finds that, excepting for some trifles, there is complete agreement between the two.

And Kṣudrasūtra I. 6 supplies a still clearer indication:
P. 10. 'whoever wishes to find abundant means of subsistence, must sing the Kāleya Sāman on the middle verse of the three existing verses, the stanza beginning with *indrā yāhi dhiyeṣitaḥ* being taken as first.' The prescription leaves nothing to be desired by way of clarity, and one finds the song also with the prescribed order of verses in the ūhagāna: XXI. 2. 4. But, if this song-book had been known to the authors of the Ārṣeyakalpa, they would surely have given the prescriptions whereby they indicate the Sāmans in another and shorter manner, and particularly would they have omitted from the last prescription the definition of the transposition of the verses. These are only two indications out of many on the basis of which we should conclude that the last two gānas are of a later time than the sūtras considered here. Also the names (prāyaścitta and kṣudra) of the last two parvans in the ūha- and ūhyagāna can be only explained on the supposition that the Kṣudrasūtra is older; the Kṣudrasūtra may have received its name in contrast with the more extensive Maśakakalpasūtra, and in the Kṣudrasūtra are also considered the prāyaścittas.

Decidedly the last two gānas are also later than the Śrautasūtras. That is self-evident. First these names do not occur in them even once. This nevertheless is no proof. Let us proceed. In the Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa (V. 4. 5,6) it is prescribed that the singer in the Mahāvrata must sing the Sāman called Vasiṣṭhasya nihava on the Cātavāla, and that he must sing this on a verse directed to the Viśve devāḥ. Which verse is meant here does not appear from the words of the brāhmaṇa. The sūtra of Lāṭyāyana-Drāhyāyaṇa therefore fills this gap (Lāṭy. III. 9. 12=

Drāhy. X, 1.11) by the provision: *viśve devā iti vasiṣṭhasya nihavam ūhet*, i.e., "he must change the vasiṣṭhasya nihava to (make ready to fit in, ūhet) the verse that begins with *viśve devāḥ*". The melody Vasiṣṭhasya nihava is composed on the verse *asāvi devaṃ gor ṛjīkam* (Sv. I. 4.1.3.1) and is found in grāmageyagāna VIII. 1.36 (Sv. Bibl. Ind. Part I, p. 629); the melody fitted on the verse *viśve devāḥ* etc. (ār. Sam. III. 9) is given in ūhagana IX. 3.12. (Part V p. 602). Between the two sāmans there is full agreement except in the words. This passage alone is enough—one can mention still clearer proofs—to prove that the author of the Śrautasūtra did not know of the ūhagāna. The commentary at this point reads: "the words 'he must adapt (ūhet)' is aimless, because the reading (of this sāman, is known (Dhanvin naturally knew the ūhagāna !). That is indeed true, they say, but the ūha (gāna) is of a later age than this prescription." The text of the commentary, which surely has not been handed down quite correctly, must have had something like this sentence. P. 11.

Over the question whether the ūha (by which term apparently was meant the song book known as ūh(arahas)yagāna as well as the ūhagāna known to us) was made by men or 'seen' by Ṛṣis, the old Hindus were already divided. The first chapter of the second prapāṭhaka in the Nidānasūtra, a text which from its style must be counted among the older works, is devoted to a discussion of this question. After the introductory words: *ṛṣikṛtaḥ svid ūhā 3 anṛṣikṛta iti vai khalu āhuḥ*, reasons are first set forth for the view that ūha does not have its origin from the seers, and then, apparently, all the grounds are refuted. From a metrical discourse on the Sāmaveda the following śloka is cited in the idtroduction to the Bibliotheca Indica edn. (Part I, p. 18):

ūhagrantho' pauruṣeyaḥ pauruṣeyo' thavāgrimaḥ |
vedasāmasamānatvād vidhisārthatvato' ntimaḥ ||

If I am not mistaken, the meaning of these words is: 'Is the ūha(gāna) (and the ūhyagāna) not of human origin or is it ? It is the first, in so far as it is in a similar case with the Sāma-Veda (the first two gānas, seen by the Ṛṣis and thus of divine origin); the second, in so far as it is meant for the rite (and the Kalpasūtras are made by men)".

With the remark made above, that ūha- and ūhyagāna date from later times, agrees the finding of Konow on the Sāma- P. 12.

vidhāna-brāhmaṇa. He has pointed out that in this old text no songs from the last two song-books are quoted.

But one may, with propriety ask, how now with this argument (above p. 8) which just now seemed to have such conclusive force exactly for the greater antiquity of the ūha? This ground need not be abandoned as against the conclusive evidence that the last two gānas as such were unknown to the older authors, because there may be found an explanation by which the contradiction may be cleared away. Thus it is probable that originally the text of the Maśakakalpasūtra enumerated successively all the Sāmans (which should be sung on one melody), but that later authors, who knew the ūhagana have curtailed these passages.

Yet another question awaits an answer. Why (have) two song-books, ūha and ūhya, with precisely the same divisions next to each other? Their songs were in practice employed next to and by each other. Careful reflection has furnished the solution of this problem also. All the melodies which occur in the ūhyagāna as also their names one finds in the āraṇyagāna, while the melodies and names of the ūhagāna correspond with those of the grāmageyagāna. Besides ūhyagāna, the last song-book is also called rahasyagāna. In his day Burnell maintained that the designation ūhya(gāna) was an abridgement of ūharahasya(gāna); Konow, on the other hand (Sāmavidhāna Intro. p. 14) thought that the name rahasya only applied to the āraṇyagāna and not to the ūhya as well. Now it seems that the opinions of Burnell and of Konow are reconcileable; for rahasya is the same as āraṇya(gāna), and what we understand by ūhyagāna is simply the collection of songs changed and adapted to the melodies of the āraṇyagāna: rahasyagāna and ūhyagāna are really one and the same: the words differ, not the melodies.

P. 13. To turn finally to the name: the term ūha is clear; it means 'shifting, adaptation', and postulates a model to which the adaptation takes place. Well then, the prakṛti of ūha and ūh-(arahas)ya are, as we saw, the grāmageya- and the āraṇyagāna. As regards the names of these last books, there is not a single reason to adduce in favour of the modern theory (of v. Schroeder, Winternitz and others), that they are so called because the first named gāna contains songs sung in the sacrifices in the village, the second in sacrifices performed in the forest or the wilderness. That is a mere play of words with no single

reason given. For we have seen that the melodies of both the gānas are used by each other in all soma-sacrifices. Rather may the gānas be so called because one of them was studied in the village by the Sāma Veda student while the other (the āraṇyagāna) was studied in the wood, outside the parish. The introduction to this study was also a particularly severe observance.[1] The reason why this gāna should be studied outside the parish lies certainly in the greater holiness or danger of its melodies. I recall only the highly sacred Mahānāmnīs and the rudrasūkta employed in imprecations.

For all the reasons stated above one might visualise the origin of the Sāmaveda texts thus:

The holy service, the Soma sacrifice in its many forms, existed from of old. Since the beginning of human memory different songs were sung by the singer with his acolytes at particular moments in such sacrifices (in the gāyatra melody in the morning service), mostly based on stanzas of three verses. The words on which the songs used to be sung (their yonis) were collected early and compiled into one whole (*Saṁhitā*): the **P. 14.**
uttarārcika. In order that the study and memorising of the melodies may be rendered easy, likewise at a very early period, a double register was made up, the first one of the melodies; this was so arranged that one had only to take the first verse of a stanza and this became the carrier of the melody; then they added the Sāmans, which should be recited by some singers in some song-verses (stotriyas) in other ceremonies. So began the grāmageyagāna and āraṇyagāna, which were so divided that the more sacred and dangerous melodies were put together in a separate register (ār. gāna). Also the yonis of the song-books were brought together and so began the pūrvārcika and āraṇyakasaṁhitā. Thereupon the traditional rite was fixed in the Ārṣeyakalpa, in connection with the brāhmaṇa, of which it is difficult to indicate the time of origin in this series. The Śrautasūtras began in connection with the extant literature (of the Śāmaveda). If now a chandoga knows his two gānas by heart and also knows which yonis he must use at one or other ceremony, it should be easy for him to make all the changes, to apply the ūha in all the

1. The Mahānāmnīkavrata of the Chandogas (*cf.* Jaim. Gṛ. Sū. I. 17), that is almost the same as the Śukriyavrata of the other Vedic schools.

cases as prescribed in the sūtras. But perhaps all kinds of *finesse* were quickly resorted to in order to prolong the ritual or make it more complicated, and so the chandoga needed to have in his head a great many rules in order to apply the ūha. All these rules were, if I am not mistaken, collected in one text ascribed to Puṣpa, the socalled Phullasūtra. I say 'perhaps'. For though indeed there is in existence an edition of the text of this sūtra, yet this work is so truly algebraical in arrangement and so full of all sorts of abbreviations and technical terms, that only a thorough study with a commentary at hand could give us the certainty whether my surmise regarding the purport of the
P. 15. Puṣpasūtra is correct.[1] Again, they have later on combined all the rules of the Puṣpasūtra with the prescriptions of the sūtras and applied them, and produced two song-books, which may now be directly consulted by the chandoga in the holy service. The content of the ūha- and ūhyagānas forms thus the oldest part of the Samāveda, according to their form these two books belong to the youngest.

1. By the researches of Prof. R. Simon at Munchen, who is preparing an edition and elucidation of the Puṣpasūtra, it will become clear later if my hypothesis on the purpose of this text is correct. Questioned about this by me, Prof. R. Simon cannot give me a conclusive answer though he considers 'the basic idea thoroughly sound.' (Simon's edition has appeared in Abhandlungen der K. Bayer Akademie der Wiss. 1. Kl. XXIII Band. III Abt.—Tr.).

ACCENTUAL VARIATION IN RELATION TO SEMANTIC VARIATION

BY

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[In a paper published in Volume VIII Part IV of this Journal, I pointed out how a semantic differentiation is involved in the shift of accent or to put it in other words, the same sound combination referentially differs in accordance with the shift of accent. This is exemplified by Pāṇini's sūtra

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्तः (P. VI. 1, 37.)

which reminds us that in the stem *Vṛṣākapāy* to which is tacked on the feminine suffix *-ī*, in strict conformity to the importance associated with the semantic content of the suffixal element, there is also an accentual shift to the very last syllable of the whole word.[1] In this paper I propose to examine this principle in greater detail with special reference to a study of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's Ṛgvedānukramaṇi.[2]]

Mādhavabhaṭṭa opens his first section (Ṛgvedānukramaṇi Part I. i. i. 1) with the statement

यावदर्थं तथास्वरम् ॥

[*Cf.* अर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत. Nirukta II. 1, *cf. also*

प्रधानमर्थः शब्दो हि तद्गुणायत्त इष्यते ।

तस्मान्नानान्वयोपायैः शब्दानर्थवशं नयेत् ॥

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1. However the word *Vṛṣākapāyī*—(Rv.) 'wife of *Vṛṣākapi*' occurring in the vocative only, is unaccented *Vide* A. A, Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologic und Altertumskunde 1. Band. 4. Heft. 1910, p. 87.

2. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Pt. I.

Bṛhaddevatā II. 99.

See also

बहुव्रीहेः स्वरं पश्यन्नर्थं तत्पुरुषस्य च ।
अर्थे स्पष्टे स्वरं जह्याद्वरुणं वो रिशादसम् ॥

Ṛgvedānukramaṇi i. v. 7.

वरुणं वो रिशादसम् (Rv. V. 64, 1.)[1]]

In a volume of the Indo-germanis che jahrbuch (VI. 1918), Karl Buhler brought together several definitions of sentence and subjected them all to a critical examination. One thing that clearly strikes us in these definitions is that language should be looked upon it its setting of real life, for sentences are obviously social facts, being familiar from daily intercourse.

Therefore the right method of approach is not to investigate speech as we find in books or grammars, but as the most vital social phenomena, the indispensable instrument of social existence, since sentences are used at every moment to give or to ask information, to express wishes or give orders, or in some way to exert influence upon the minds of our fellows.[2]

Doubtless most writers on language, have been more or less alive to this stand point. But Marty seems to be entirely saturated with it. His statement of the purpose of language[3] very closely agrees with the definition given by A. H. Gardiner[4] that runs thus:—

"Language is the name given to any systerm of articulate symbols having reference to the facts of experience, whereby speakers seek to influence the minds of listeners in question".

The above definition brings a new dimension to language as usually viewed, namely the relation of the speaker to the listener.

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1. Sāyaṇa's comment on the compound रिशादसम् is as follows:
रिशंति हिंसन्तीति रिशाः शत्रवः तेषां प्रेरकम् ।

2. Cf. मन्यन्ते पण्डितास्त्वन्ये यथाव्याकरणं स्वरम् ।
व्यवस्थितो व्यवस्थायां हेतुस्तत्र न विद्यते ॥
माधवस्य त्वयं पक्षः स्वरेणैव व्यवस्थितिः ॥

Ṛgvedānukramaṇī i. i. 24 and 25.

3. A. Marty, Untersuchungen Zur Grundlegung der allgemeinen Grammatik und Sprach philosophic 1908. 1, 22.

4. The British Journal of Psychology Volume XII. 1921-22. pp. 353-354.

It should not however be understood that nearly three decades ago, the relation of the speaker to the listener (with its converse relation) was entirely ignored by linguists. Undoubtedly it crept up, now and then, in Paul, in von der Gabelentz, in Jespersen and in many other writers. But only it was not brought to the forefront.

In this connection it has to be clearly borne in mind that linguistic development follows not one tendency, but two opposing ones, and they are distinctness and economy. Each one of these poles is alternately preponderant. The fundamental dualism speaker-hearer is at the basis of this polarity, which producing a tension, constitutes the principle of life in language.

Language is looked at from these two poles by formal and functional grammar.[1] This hypothesis provides two bases on which can be safely built a bridge between the violently antagonistic views of Wundt (Volker psychologie[2], Die Sprache) and Marty.

Marty's teleological explanation of lingiustic creation[2] opens the way for the return of the two tendencies—distinctness and economy in the interpretation of the linguistic development.[3]

" It is the basic dualism speaker-hearer which causes the existence of a polarity between subjectivity and objectivity. The tendency towards economy is the subjective factor as it serves the inclination of the speaker. Distinctness is usually the objective factor, enforced by the reaction of the hearer."[4]

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1. *Cf.* "I firmly believe that a grammar built on function, its proper realm, with leanings towards meaning rather than towards form, but of course without disregarding the latter, must be more life-like and fascinating than one built on form. The closer we stay to the human mind, the more vital will be our results. Form is remotest from the ever young activity of the mind. It shows its reflections only in dim outlines and is most subject to fossilization. Function is much more stable and reveals much more readily the processes of casting thought and feeling into accepted patterns." W. F. Leopold's article, "Form or Function as the basis of grammar", p. 431. The Journal of English and Germanic Philology. Volume XXXIV. No. 3, July, 1935.

2. Werner Leopold, "Inner form" in Language. Volume V 254-60.

3. Untersuchungen, pp. 629-30.

4. Cf. Polarity in Language" by W, Leopold. Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies, pp. 102-103.

The two tendencies are adequately discussed with masterly lucidity by G. V. D. Gabelentz.[1] Wundt however denies their very existence as he mistakes tendency for intention and since in his system[2] practically no room is given for intention. Marty's unmistakably clear demonstration of Wundt's error carries conviction (622).

Thus it is clear that "two opposed interests wrestle with each other and are both active and effective at the same time and alternate in predominance. A horizontal cut through the structure of language and a vertical one through its development might be imagined to show the form of an ellipse; two foci which can never coincide are both essential to define the course of the circumference."[3]

The rules pertaining to Sanskrit accent show clear traces of this principle of polarity at work and indicate the two fundamental forces which work in opposite direction and yet collaborate, namely, the manifestations of the tendency towards facility against the conservative principle of intelligibility.

This is not a bit surprising, since the Sanskrit accent, like the accentuation-marks, did not hover over words in a careless apathy, but as a living and life-imparting soul lived in and with the word, exerting an influence on the structure of the whole langnage, such as we seem to have only had the faintest conception of.[4]

Accent, producing the unity of the word and therefore called the soul of speech being of a more spiritual nature than the sounds, not only from one point of view is the real element which carries intelligibility into speech, but also more than other, factors in speech, is the immediate expression of feeling.

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1. Die Sprachwissenschaft,[2] 181, 1901.
2. Die Sprache,[3] 1. 28, 2. 492.
3. W. Leopold, "Polarity in Language", p. 104. Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies, Language Monographs No, 7, 1930,
4. Jespersen, Linguistica p. 16. "Rules as to the accent of words, as to the precise intonations of questions or commands, as to forms when shouting to people at a distance could have no sense if applied to a dead language." *Vide* E. Rapson, "In what degree was Sanskrit a spoken language?" The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1904, p. 443.

(*Cf.* W. V. Humbold's view cited by Gottling, Accent der griechischen Sprache, p. 8).[1]

The interrelation between accent and the meaning-content has been engaging the attention of scholars almost from the rise of the linguistic science. Benfey (Gott. Gel. Anz. 1846, p. 842. Kl. Schr. 2, 69) believed that the accent originally did not rest on the stem syllable but on that element which modified the meaning of the word (cf. below. Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 21).

Soon after him, L. Benloew subscrided to a similar view in his book (Del' accentuation dans les langues indoeuropeennes tant anciennes que modernes. Paris, 1847). According to this scholar, the summit accent was originally an accent purely of pitch, a musical accent without stress or *ictus.* [The term *ictus* for a metrical stress also seems to be post classical, and in *Quintilian* usually implies the beating of time *pedum et digitoru-m ictu*". (The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian. 9, 4, 51. Volume III, P. 534, with an English Translation by H. E. Butler. The Loeb Classical Library.] Mark H. Liddell believes that the *ictus* as a metrical stress was really as theoretical in classic Latin verse as it is in modern European music, being employed to mark the time when syllable-lengths were no longer *communibus in fixa sensibus* but had to be taught to the young by beating with the hand or foot, just as musical time is now taught to one who is learning to play a musical instrument.[2] In each word which consisted of more than one syllable, some one syllable was pronounced musically higher than all the others; the syllable which was thus distinguished from others was, according to Benloew, chronologically the last defining element in the word (le dernier determinant).

According to the theory of word-construction which prevailed in his days and which even to-day is accepted to a large extent without much opposition, a word is made up of different constituents, root, suffix, personal inflection, case-ending, augment, reduplication and so forth, and of these

1. *Vide* Maurice Bloomfield, "Historical and critical remarks, introductory to a study of Greek Accent." The American Journal of Philology, Vol. IV, (1883), p. 21.

2. *Cf.* Mark H. Liddell, "Stress Pronunciation in Latin,' Language Volume II, 1926, p. 110, f.n.

elements in the word whatever be the last joined to the word, that was entitled to this higher pitch, for example in an augment-tense the augment, in a noun in the genitive, the genitive ending and when a word was compounded with a preposition, the preposition.

Benloew was convinced that the unity of the word in our sense had not as yet developed so long as this principle was still in existence, the marked emphasis of the 'dernier déterminant' directed the attention of both the speaker and the hearer so strongly to some part of the whole, to some special element in what afterwards became a unit, that it must be supposed that this accentuation was in force in a period previous to that of word-formation in its strictest sense.

The cementing of the word as we have it now, is produced by an additional force. By the side of the principle of the last determinant there was developed slowly and gradually a logical principle of accentuation whose purpose it was to act without reference and in fact in opposition to the specialising tendency of the 'last determinant.' This logical accent, Benloew assumes, affected the root-syllable, which in the word as a whole, is the ruling syllable. The further history of accentuation in the separate Indo-European languages exhibits, then a gradual process, by which the logical accentuation gains the ascendancy in the word.

Benfey took Benloew's principle of the last determinant as his speciality[1]. This theory based upon a large number of correct observations was an important one in linguistics to determine a general principle of accentuation.

In the light of the foregoing remarks, a study of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa's favourite theory will be highly interesting.

The book opens with a discussion about the problem of accent of the finite verb. To him ths accentlessness of the finite verb in the principal clause (unless the verb stands at the commencement of the clause or of a pāda) is due to the fact that the meaning-content of the verb is determined by the meaning of the clause taken in entirety.

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1. Kl. Schr. I, 112. *Cf. also* H. Hirt, Der Akzent. Idg. Gram. Teil V. Heidelberg. 1929, pp. 21-22. *Vide also* M. Bloomfield, Am. Jour. Phil. Vol. IV, p. 34.

निघाततिङ्पदस्यार्थे वाक्यार्थः पर्यवस्यति ।

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 3.)

In other words, here a tendency towards economy is preponderant.

This explanation partially agrees with Delbruck's (although the latter does not seen to be as satisfactory as the former). He says—"The accentlessness of the finite verb in the principal clause is merely the external sign of the fact that the verb appears as a relatively dependent member of the sentence attaching itself to a noun, a pronoun, a preposition in such a way as to limit these ideas.[1]" I have examined Professor Whitney's criticism of this theory at length in my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds.[2]"

Yet a striking parallel to Delbruck's view that the sentence is naturally a diminuendo, beginning strong, to attract the attention of the listener and then toning gradually down, we find in Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

निघाततिङ्पदस्यार्थं वाक्यान्ते दर्शयेच्छनैः ।
उदात्ततिङ्पदस्यार्थम् उच्चैरादौ प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
उदात्तकारकपदैस्तत्र पूर्वं समाहते ।
पदं सर्वानुदात्तं स्यान्मध्येऽन्ते वाथ यद्भवेत् ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 4 and 8.)

Even though preceded by a vocative, the finite verb which begins a sentence is accented being necessitated for arresting the attention of the listener, that is, here the tendency towards distinctness takes the upper hand.

Applying the same principle, it is indeed no matter for surprise that a finite verb even at the beginning of a pāda is accented, since it can be assumed that the intention of the vedic bards was to make each pāda a complete unit in itself as would a sentence.

………………श्रोतारमिह तिङ्पदम् ।
उदात्तवत् समाहन्ति स यथाभिमुखो भवेत् ॥
तत्र संबोधनपदैर्नरः संबोधितोऽपि सन् ।
वाक्यार्थोद्बोधनं कर्तुं पुनराहन्यते तिङा ॥

1. Delbruck, "Vedic Syntax" 50.
2. To be shortly published in the Madras University Journal.

अनुपादं विरम्यार्थमृषयः कथयन्त्यतः ।
पुनश्चोद्बोधनं कर्तुं पादादौ तिङुदात्तवत् ॥[1]

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 7, 12 and 9.)

Mādhavabhaṭṭa explicitly adheres to the view that it is the principle of intelligibility which is to be held responsible for making the finite verb accented.

यद्यदीत्यादिभिर्युक्तं तिङन्तं च स्फुटं वदेत् ।
अवान्तराणां वाक्यानामन्तेऽर्थं तं च दर्शयेत् ॥

(*Ibid.* i. i. 5.)

Another close parallel too to Delbruck's parodoxical standpoint that the finite verb which is itself a dependent member, when it belongs to a dependent clause attains its independency and gets an accent[2] is noticeable in Mādhavabhaṭṭa. But Mādhavabhaṭṭa's presentation seems to me more satisfactory.

Mādhavabhaṭṭa pushes also the subjective element to its logical conclusion. Thus if in an apparently single sentence, there are two unaccented finite verbs, then the whole sentence has to be split into two.

अनुदात्ते पदे यत्र तत्र संस्थापयेत् द्विधा ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 10.)

Example:

वायविन्द्रश्च चेतथः सुतानां वाजिनीवसू ।
तावायातमुपद्रवत् ॥ (Rv. I, 2, 5.)

As both the finite verbs चेतथः and यातम् are unaccented in this passage, it has to be assumed that here there are two separate sentences.

Of great interest is the unique explanation of Mādhavabhaṭṭa on the ground of the tendency towards distinctness for accenting the finite verb in a few cases (which does not begin a sentence or a pāda) but which apparently is in a principal sentence. For example.

मा नः शंसो अररुषो धूर्तिः प्रणङ्मर्त्यस्य ।
रक्षा णो ब्रह्मणस्पते ॥

(Rv. I. 18. 3.)

1. A Vedic Grammar for students by A. A. Macdonell, page 443. f.n. 2 and page 437.

2. *Vide* my article, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds,"

इन्द्र सोमं पिबं ऋतुना त्वां विशन्त्विन्दवः ॥ (Rv. I. 15. 1.)

The problematic accent of प्रणक् and पिब in the above two passages Mādhavabhaṭṭa seeks to explain.

The meaning of the first passage is, "Protect us, Brahmaṇaspati, so that no calumnious censure of a malevolent man may reach us." And the meaning of the second passage is, "Indra, drink with Ṛtu, the Soma juice. Let the drops enter into thee and abide."[1]

The first passage is an earnest prayer to Brahmaṇaspati for protection in such a manner as the calumnious censure of a malevolent person may not reach the suppliant. In a similar way, the main intention of the speaker in the second passage is the entry of the drops of Soma juice into Indra. In such a way the god is requested to drink the juice. Hence it is that both प्रणक् and पिब are accented.

ननूदात्तं पदं दृष्टं वाक्यमध्येऽपि तद्यथा ।
मानःशंसो अररुष इन्द्र सोमं पिबेति च ॥
अत्र ब्रूमोऽर्थसंस्थानमिह यस्मिन् भवेत्तिङि ।
तत्तु सर्वानुदात्तं स्यादसंस्थितउदात्तवत् ॥
मा प्राप्नोतु कदर्यस्य शंसोऽस्मान् ब्रह्मणस्पते ।
रक्षैवमिति मन्त्रार्थः पाने चावेशनं फलम् ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 13, 14 and 15.)[2]

Sāyaṇa's comment on प्रणक is as follows:—

"पृची संपर्के" लङस्तिप् । "इतश्च" इतीकारलोपः । हल्ङ्यादिलोपः । कुत्वम् । "रुधादिभ्यः श्नम्" । तस्य "व्यत्ययो बहुलम्" (P. III. 1, 85.) इति अडागमः । यणादेशः । अकारस्यागमानुदात्तत्वं बाधित्वा व्यत्ययेनोदात्तत्वम् । "चादिलोपे विभाषा" (P. VIII. 1, 63.) इति निघाताभावः ॥

Sāyaṇa's derivation of *praṇak* from the root *pṛc* of the infixing nasal class (seventh or *rudh* class) where the syllable

1. *See* Wilson's Translation.

2. पाने चावेशनं फलम् may also be taken to mean that the meaning of the finite verb रक्ष comes to be determined by the semantic content of the sentence in its entirety (आवेशनं being used in the sense of अभिनिवेश). I owe this suggestion to my revered

'*na*' precedes the final consonant of the root in the strong forms and ingeniously arguing that the augment '*a*' comes immediately after the syllable *pṛ* of the root is in no way satisfactory.

It is to be remembered that *praṇ́ak* is the unaugmented root aorist of *naś* (to attain) formed with the preposition *pra*.[1]

Skandasvāmin very nearly hit at the mark, for he says

प्रपूर्वस्य नशेर्व्याप्तिकर्मण एतद्रूपम् ।

But unhappily he soon abandons this explanation.

अथवानवग्रहैकपदत्वात् पृचेः सम्पर्कार्थस्येदं रूपम् , न प्रपूर्वस्य नशेः ।

[Skandasvāmin's bhāṣya on Rv. I, 18, 3. Trivandrum Sanskrit series. Also Madras University Sanskrit series No. 8, p. 48.]

Veṅkaṭamādhava's bhāṣya on Rv. I, 18, 3 reads thus:—

"मास्माकम् आदातुर्मर्त्यस्य कदर्यस्य शंसो न दातुं युष्मभ्यम् इच्छामीति वादो (?) हिंसकः प्राप्नोतु धनाभावात् तथास्मांस्त्वं रक्ष ॥[2]

From this it can be reasonably inferred that he also was of opinion that प्रणक् is the aorist form of नश् with the preposition प्र.

According to Pāṇini's sūtra न लुट् (P. 8. 1. 29) the verb in the periphrastic future is not accented.[3] Example: *śva kartā* [The *Sārvadhātuka* affixes डा, रौ, रस् are *anudātta* after the affix तासि by the sūtra तास्यनुदात्तेन्ङिददुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विङोः (P. VI. 1. 186). the whole affix तास् becomes *udātta* (अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ P. III. 1. 3.) and where the टि portion of तास् *i.e.* the syllable आस्, is elided before the affix डा, there also the आ of डा

Prof. MM. Kuppuswami Śastrigal. The other meaning of the line is apparent, *i.e.*, the drinking leads to the entry which means that the request to drink is subordinated to the wish for the entry of the Soma juice into Indra.

1. *See* Vedic Grammar A. A. Macdonell, Section 499, p. 366.

2. Veṅkaṭamādhava's Bhāṣya. Paper manuscript, Aydar Library Volume I, page 12.

3. This formation is common in the later language. But there seems to be only an incipient example in VS. XVIII, 59

becomes *udātta* because the *udātta* has been elided. *See* P. VI. 1. 161.

(अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः)

Why is the finite verb here accented ?[1] As we say '*he will do it*' using the periphrastic future in common speech, through intonation it comes to mean some such thing "as, *will he do it* ? . . . . . *he will do it*" when therefore the tendency towards distinctness naturally comes into prominence, laying in its turn special emphasis on the finite verb. This is Mādhavabhaṭṭa's explanation.

लुडर्थे ननु वाक्यार्थः स्पष्टं सन्तिष्ठते तव ।
सत्यमाह भवानेतत् काकुस्तत्र नु विद्यते ॥
यथा तिङ्क्षु हि युक्तेषु ह्यर्थे वाक्यस्य संस्थितिः ।
एवं लुट्यपि संस्थानं तस्मिन् काकाविति स्थितिः ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 16 and 17.)

Mādhavabhaṭṭa then proceeds to illustrate his analogy.

परा हि मे विमन्यवः पतन्ति वस्य इष्टये ।
वयो न वसतीरुप ॥ (Rv. I, 25, 4.)
आ हि ष्मा सूनवे पितापिर्यजत्यापये ।
सखा सख्ये वरेण्यः ॥ (Rv. I, 26, 3.)
न हि वामस्ति दूरके यत्रा रथेन गच्छथः ।
अश्विना सोमिनो गृहम् ॥ (Rv. I, 22, 4.)

=TS. 5.7.7.1 *anvāgantā yajñapatir vo atra* which Macdonell (*See* Vedic Grammar, section 540, p. 387) translates, "the sacrificer is following after you here." This passage is obviously a modification of Av. 6, 123, 1; 2. *anvāgantā yajamānaḥ svasti* which according to Whitney means, "the sacrificer follows after well-being" (*Cf*. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, Section 946).

1. This question is pertinent for according to Pāṇini's sūtra 3, 3, 15 (अनद्यतने लुट्) लुट् or the periphrastic future denotes an act that is yet to come (भविष्यत्यनद्यतनेऽर्थे धातोर्लुट् स्यात् is the comment of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his Siddhānta Kaumudī.). Hence logically it can never occur in a subordinate clause. Therefore strictly speaking it should be accentless.

आयजी वाजसातमा ताह्युं१च्चाविजर्भृतः ।
हरी इवान्धांसि बप्सता ॥ (Rv. I. 28, 7.)[1]

सं यन्मदाय शुष्मिण एनाह्यस्योदरे ।
समुद्रो न व्यचो दधे ॥ (Rv. I. 30, 3.)

Pāṇini brings these instances under the sūtra हि च (P. VIII. 1. 34). The accenting of the finite verb, according to Mādhava-bhṭṭa, in the above passages is due to a distinct tendency towards intelligibility whose operation is necessary to bring the element of marvel that looms large in them.

आश्चर्य एषु मन्त्रेषु तिङर्थः पर्यवस्यति ।
हेतौ सँयन्मादयेति तेष्वतस्तिङुदात्तवत् ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 19)

Mādhavabhaṭṭa lays special emphasis on the standpoint he adopts that whatever be the place where an accent is found, it is certain that there a characteristic intonation is indicated, being necessitated through the preponderance of the tendency towards distinctness. Those gifted with keen powers of observation alone can perceive this. The great grammarian Pāṇini was one such gifted seer.

एवं येनेह युक्तं यत् तिङन्तं न निहन्यते ।
तदर्थे तत्र संस्थानं न तिङर्थ इति स्थितिः ॥
एवं पदे समासे च यत्रोदात्तो व्यवस्थितः ।
वर्णे पदे वा तत्रापि काकुरस्तीति निश्चयः ॥
तत्रैतस्मिन् पदे काकुर्देवैरेवावगम्यते ।
सूक्ष्मविद्भिः समासस्थः प्राकृतैरपि तिङ्स्वरः ॥
भगवान् पाणिनिर्वेत्ति वाक्यवृत्तीः समञ्जसम् ।
प्रतिषेधो निघातस्य बोद्धव्यो विहितैरतः ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, i. i. 20, 21, 22 and 11.)

(To be continued.)

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1. *See also* Nirukta, IX. 36.

PŪRVAMĪMĀṀSĀVIṢAYASAṄGRAHADĪPIKĀ

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In some of the former issues of this Journal one of us edited the Citrapaṭa of Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita. Reference was made in the introduction to that work to the Pūrvamīmāṁsāviṣayasaṅgrahadīpikā of Appayya Dīkiṣta. The latter is a short work, summarising in a brief and terse manner the contents of the twelve adhyāyas of Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtras, drawing particular attention to some of the fundamental doctrines of the system.

One may very well doubt the ascription of such a short work as this to the famous Dīkṣita, especially after seeing the Citrapaṭa, which itself is a short summary of the contents of the system. But the authenticity of this ascription cannot be doubted, for, in the body of the work itself we find the following statement:—

तथा प्रपञ्चेन प्रसाधितमस्माभिः विधिरसायने (p. 331.)

and most of us are familiar with his *Vidhirasāyana.* There is, therefore, no doubt as to the genuineness of Appayya Dīkṣita's authorship of the work.

The edition of this short work is based on two mss. of the work, one deposited in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras (R. 1321), and the other in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library. In the colophon of the copy of this work found in the G. O. Mss. Library we find the following:—

इति धर्ममीमांसासारसङ्ग्रहव्याख्या परिभाषा पूर्वमीमांसाविषयसंग्रहदीपिका अप्पय्यदीक्षितकृता.

Obviously there is some confusion regarding the name of this work. On the other hand the copy in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore is styled द्वादशलक्षण्या अर्थसङ्क्षेप: both in the colophon of the work and on the fly leaf of the Ms.; and the work has been so described in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Sarasvati Mahal. In addition this copy does not give the name of the author. Since the work is generally included in the list of works of Appayya Dīkṣita under the name of Pūrvamīmāṁsāviṣayasaṅgrahadīpikā, we thought it proper to designate it so. What ever be the name of the work, nobody can doubt that it is by Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita.

N. B. :—

The ms. in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras is designated G.

The ms. in the Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore is designated T.

श्रीः

॥ पूर्वमीमांसाविषयसङ्ग्रहदीपिका ॥

॥ श्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितकृता ॥

[1]"अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा" इति सूत्रेण प्रमाणस्वरूपसाधनफलैः धर्मस्य विचारं प्रतिज्ञाय प्रथमेऽध्याये तस्मिन् प्रमाणं निरूपितम् । तत्र प्रथमे पादे साक्षाद्धर्मे प्रमाणभूताया श्चोदनायाः पौरुषेयत्वाद्यप्रामाण्यहेतुशङ्कानिराकरणपूर्वकं तत्र प्रामाण्यमुपपादितम् । द्वितीयपादे अर्थवादमन्त्रयोर्विध्यपेक्षितद्रव्यदेवतादिस्तुत्यानुष्ठेयार्थस्मृतिसमर्पकतया ; तृतीयपादे मन्वाद्याप्तप्रणीतवेदाविरुद्धस्मृत्यादीनां मूलवेदानुमापकतया ; चतुर्थपादे "अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति" "श्येनेनाभिचरन् यजेत" इत्यादिविधिवाक्यगतानामग्निहोत्रादिपदानां नाम्ना कर्मभेदः, नाम्ना धर्मातिदेशः, नाम्ना दूरस्थस्यानुवाद इत्यादिप्रयोजनवत्तया[2] कर्मनामतया[3] च तत्र प्रामाण्यमुपपादितम् ॥

एवं प्रमाणसिद्धस्य धर्मस्य परस्परभिन्नं स्वरूपं द्वितीयाध्याये निरूपितम् । तत्र यजति, ददाति, जुहोति इति चोदनासु यज्यादिधातुभेदरूपेण शब्दान्तरेण यागदानहोमानां भेदः । "समिधो यजति" "तनूनपातं यजति" इत्यादिविधिषु यजतीति पञ्चकृत्वोऽभ्यासेनाविशेषपुनःश्रुतिरूपेणाभ्यासानां [यागानां] भेदः । "सप्तदश प्राजापत्यान् पशूनालभेत" इत्यत्र द्रव्यदेवतासम्बन्धभेदिन्या सप्तदशसंख्यया तदनुमेययागानां भेदः । "अथैष ज्योतिः" इत्यादिवाक्येषु ज्योतिरादिनामधेयच[4] [धेयैः] तन्नामकयागानां [5]प्रकृतज्योतिष्टोमात् भेदः । "तप्ते पयसि दध्यानयति सा वैश्वदेव्यामिक्षा वाजिभ्यो वाजिनम्" इत्यत्र

१. T adds कर्ममीमांसायां
२. G. प्रयोजनवाक्यं
३. G. नामगताया
४. T. ज्योतिरादीनां ध्येयैः
५. G. Space is left out for writing प्रकृतज्योतिष्टोमात् and adds लिङ्गादिलक्षणं

आमिक्षारूपगुणान्तरावरुद्धे[1] यागे[2] निवेशमलभमानेन वाजिनगुणेन वाजिनयागस्यामिक्षायागाद्भेदः । प्रकरणान्तरेणानु[3]पादेयगुणसहितासन्निधिलक्षणेन नित्याग्निहोत्रान्मासाग्निहोत्रस्य भेद इत्येवं द्वितीयाध्याये कर्मभेदः सापवादः प्रपञ्चितः ॥

तृतीयाध्याये भिन्नानां[4] कर्मणां श्रुतिलिङ्गादिभिः प्रमाणैः शेषशेषिभावो निरूपितः । तत्र निरपेक्षः शब्दः श्रुतिः । सा च त्रिधा—विधात्री, अभिधात्री, विनियोक्त्री च । लिङादिश्रुतिर्विधात्री । [5]इन्द्रादिश्रुतिरभिधात्री । विनियोक्त्री तु[6] एकप्रत्ययरूपा, एकपदरूपा, [7]विभक्तिरूपा चेति त्रिविधा । तत्राद्या "पशुना यजेत" इति[8]; सा हि स्वोक्तकरणकारकं प्रति स्वोक्तैकत्वसंख्यायाः शेषत्वमर्पयति । द्वितीया तु यजेतेति पदम्; तेन प्रत्ययोक्तभावनां प्रति प्रकृत्युक्तयागस्य शेषतोपनीयते । तृतीया च शेषित्वबोधिका शेषत्वबोधिका चेति द्विविधा । "व्रीहीन् प्रोक्षति" इत्यादिषु द्वितीया व्रीह्यादीनां प्रोक्षणादिक्रियां प्रति ईप्सिततमत्वरूपशेषित्वबोधिका[9] । "क्रीते सोमे मैत्रावरुणाय दण्डं प्रयच्छति" इत्यादिषु चतुर्थीश्रुतिः मैत्रावरुणस्य प्रदानक्रियेप्सिततमत्वेन कर्मणाभिप्रेयमाणत्वरूपशेषित्वबोधिका[10] । "अरुणया क्रीणाति" इत्यत्र क्रयभावनां प्रत्यारुण्यस्य, "चात्वालान्मृदमाहरति" इत्याहरणक्रियां प्रति चात्वालस्य[11], "वेद्यां हवींष्यासादयति" इत्यत्र हविरासादनक्रियां प्रति वेद्याश्च तृतीयापञ्चमीसप्तम्यः शेषत्वबोधिकाः । षष्ठी तु क्वचित्[12] "दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य जुहुयात्" इत्यादौ शेषित्वबोधिका, "यजमानस्य याज्या" इत्यादौ शेषत्वबोधिका च, सम्बन्धमात्रानुशिष्टायाः षष्ठ्या योग्यताद्यनुसारेण उभयथापि पर्यवसानसम्भवात् ॥

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१. T. गुणावरुद्धे
२. T omits यागे
३. T omits अनु...क्षणेन
४. T omits भिन्नानां
५. G. त्वाश्रुतिः
६. G omits तु
७. T. विभाक्तिप्रत्ययरूपा
८. G adds तृतीया
९. T. शेषत्वबोधिका
१०. T. शेषत्वबोधिका
११. T omits क्वचित्
१२. T. इत्यत्र क्रयभावकारणस्य क्रियां प्रति चोद्याश्वस्य

वस्तुसामर्थ्यं लिङ्गम् । तद् द्विविधम्—शब्दसामर्थ्यम्, अर्थसामर्थ्यं च । तत्र "बर्हिर्देवसदनं दामि" इति[1] मन्त्रस्य लवनप्रकाशनसामर्थ्यरूपात् लिङ्गात् लवनशेषता । [2]"स्वधितिनावद्यति", "स्रुवेणावद्यति", "हस्तेनावद्यति" इत्यवदानसामान्यसाधनत्वेन श्रुतानां स्वधित्यादीनां सामर्थ्यरूपलिङ्गाद्विशिष्य मांसद्रवद्रव्यपुरोडाशाद्यवदानेषु शेषता ॥

शेषित्वस्य शेषत्वस्य वा बोधिकया श्रुत्या रहितः पदसमभिव्याहारो वाक्यम् । यथा [3]"ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत" "अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् स्वर्गकामः" इत्यादि[4] । यथा वा "मैत्रावरुणः[5] प्रेष्यति चान्वाह च" इति । न हि [6]यागहोमभावनां प्रति स्वर्गस्य भाव्यत्वेन शेषित्वबोधिका द्वितीयादिश्रुतिः[7] प्रैषानुवचनं प्रति मैत्रावरुणस्य कर्तृत्वेन शेषत्वबोधिका [8]तृतीयादिश्रुतिर्वास्ति । प्रथमा तु प्रातिपदिक[कार्थ]-मात्रेऽनुशिष्टा अतः पदसमभिव्याहाररूपेण वाक्येनात्र शेषशेषिभावबोधः ॥

[9]विधिवाक्यतः कर्तव्यत्वेनावगतस्य केन प्रकारेण कर्तव्यमिति विशिष्याज्ञायमानस्येतिकर्तव्यताकाङ्क्षा प्रकरणम् । तद् द्विविधम्—महाप्रकरणम्, अवान्तरप्रकरणं चेति । तत्राद्येन दर्शपूर्णमासादिकं प्रति प्रयाजादीनाम्, द्वितीयेन प्रयाजादिकं प्रत्यभिक्रमणादीनां च—तत्तत्सम्बन्धिसमाम्नातानां शेषता ॥

[देशसामान्यं] स्थानम् । तद्[10] द्विविधम्—यथासंख्यम्, सन्निधिश्च । तत्राद्येन "दब्धिरस्यदब्धो भूयासम्" इति मन्त्रस्याग्नेयाग्नीषोमीयमन्त्रद्वय[11]मध्याम्नातस्य आग्नेयाग्नीषोमीययागद्वयमध्यानुष्ठेयोपांशुयाजशेषता ।

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१. G adds अत्र

२. T. स्वधितिना...शेषता is read thus:—"स्रुवेणावद्यति" इत्यत्र स्रुवस्य बिलत्वलिङ्गा इवावदानशेषता ॥

३. T omits "ज्योति .... यजेत"

४. T. omits आदि.

५. G. मैत्रावरुणं

६. T. यागभावानां

७. T. द्वितीयाश्रुतिः

८. T. तृतीयाश्रुतिः

९. T. भावः बोधकः

१०. T omits तत्

११. G omits मध्य

सन्निधिस्तु—आम्नानसन्निधिः, [1]अनुष्ठानसन्निधिरिति द्विविधः । [2]आद्येन "शुन्धध्वं दैव्याय कर्मणे देवयज्यायै" इति मन्त्रस्य महाप्रकरणावा[3]न्तरप्रकरण-रहितस्य सान्नाय्यपात्रप्रोक्षणशेषता । [4]द्वितीयेन पशुधर्माणामग्नीषोमीयशेषता ॥

समाख्या यौगिकी संज्ञा । सा लौकिकी वैदिकी चेति द्विविधा । होतृचमस इति वैदिकसमाख्यया होतुश्चमसभक्षणं प्रति, आध्वर्यवमिति याज्ञिकप्रसिद्धलौकिकसमाख्यया अध्वर्योः [5]अन्वाधानादिकं प्रति च कर्तृत्वेन शेषता—इत्येवं शेषशेषिभावः सापवादः तृतीयाध्याये प्रपञ्चितः ॥

एवं सिद्धशेषशेषिभावानां कर्मणामनुष्ठापनशक्तिरूपा प्रयुक्तिश्चतुर्थे निरूपिता । शेष्येव शेषं[6] प्रयुङ्क्ते स्वसिद्ध्यर्थमनुष्ठापयति, न त्वनुनिष्पाद्यपि ; नापि शेषः शेषिणं प्रयुङ्क्ते । अनेकशेषिसद्भावेऽपि यत्रान्यप्रयुक्तस्यैवान्यत्र विनियोगः, तत्र [7]यत्प्रयुक्तस्यान्यत्र विनियोगः स एव शेषं प्रयुङ्क्ते, न तु शेष्यपि सन्नन्योऽपि । एवं च "तप्ते पयसि दध्यानयति" इत्यादिवाक्ये विधीयमानस्य दध्यानयनस्य द्विकर्मकस्य कर्मान्तराकाङ्क्षायां समभिव्याहृतं पयः कर्मान्तरत्वेनान्वीयमानं सप्तम्याधिकरणत्वेन निर्देशात् प्रधानकर्मतया पर्यवस्य-तीति प्रकृतप्रधानभूतपयःपरामर्शिना तत्पदेन सामानाधिकरण्येन निर्दिष्टतया पयोरूपत्वेनावगतामिक्षैव शेषित्वात् स्वशेषभूतदध्यानयनमनुष्ठापयति । न तु तदनुनिष्पादि वाजिनमपीति आमिक्षापचार एव [8]पयोऽन्तरे दध्यानयनस्य प्रयुक्तिः, न वाजिनापचारे । "कृष्णविषाणया कण्डूयते" "चात्वाले कृष्णविषाणां प्रास्यति" इति कृष्णविषाणायाः कण्डूयनप्रासनरूपक्रियाद्वयान्वये सत्यपि [9]कृष्णविषाणा [10]तृतीयया कण्डूयनं प्रति शेषः, प्रासनं प्रति तु

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१. T omits अनुष्ठानसन्निधिः
२. T adds तत्र
३. G. वान्तरप्रकरणाभिहित
४. T omits द्वितीयेन . . . शेषता
५. G. अवघातादिकं
६. G. विधेयं
७. T. यत्प्रयुक्त्यान्यत्र
८. G प्रयोगान्तरे दध्यानयनेन, तस्य
९. G. कृष्णविषाणयेति
१०. T omits तृतीयया

द्वितीयया शेषिणीति[1] निर्वृत्त[2]कण्डूयनप्रयोजनाया[3]: तस्याः प्रासनात्प्रागपचारे[4] प्रासनार्थं न[5] पुनः कृष्णविषाणान्तरोपादानप्रयुक्तिः । "पुरोडाशकपालेन तुषानुपवपति" इत्यत्र पुरोडाशप्रयुक्तस्यैव कपालस्य तुषोपवापं प्रत्यपि शेषत्वेन विनियोगात् यत्र पुरोडाशो नास्ति न तत्र तुषोपवापार्थं कपालप्रयुक्तिः—इत्येवं सापवादा प्रयुक्तिश्चतुर्थाध्याये प्रपञ्चिता ॥

एकप्रयोगान्तर्गतानामङ्गप्रधानानामनुष्ठानक्रमः पञ्चमाध्याये[6] श्रुत्यर्थादिभिर्निरूपितः । तत्र "अध्वर्युर्गृहपतिं दीक्षयित्वा ब्रह्माणं दीक्षयति" इत्यादिश्रुत्या गृहपत्यादीनामुन्नेत्रन्तानां सप्तदशानां सत्रे यजमानानां दीक्षाक्रमः । "अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति" "यवागूं पचति" इत्यत्र होमद्रव्यनिष्पत्त्यर्थयवागूपाकप्रयोजनरूपेणार्थेन पाकहोमयोः क्रमः । "समिधो यजति" इत्यादिविधिविहितानां प्रयाजादीनां विधिवाक्यपाठक्रमेण क्रमः । वाजपेये प्राजापत्यानां पशूनां प्रतिपश्वावर्तनीयेषूपाकरणनियोजनादिषु उपाकरणे यतः कुतश्चित् पशोरारभ्य यत्र कचित् पशौ समापिते तेनैव प्रवृत्तिक्रमेण नियोजनादिक्रमः । साद्यस्के क्रतौ "सह पशूनालभते" इति श्रुत्या सवनीयस्थान एवाग्नीषोमीयसवनीयानूबन्ध्यपशुत्रयस्यापि सह कर्तव्यतया प्राप्तौ सवनीयस्थानत्वेन[7] प्रथमं सवनीयपशोरुपाकरणम्, अनन्तरमग्नीषोमीयानूबन्ध्ययोरिति क्रमः । दर्शे पुरोडाशसान्नाय्ययोः मुख्यक्रमेण प्रयाजशेषाभिघारणक्रमः—इत्येवं[8] श्रुत्यादिभिः क्रमः सापवादः प्रपञ्चितः ॥

एवं द्वितीये उत्पत्तिविधिप्रमेयस्य कर्मभेदस्य[9], तृतीये विनियोगविधिप्रमेयस्य शेषशेषिभावस्य, चतुर्थपञ्चमयोः प्रयोगविधिप्रमेययोः प्रयुक्तिक्रमयोश्च निरूपणानन्तरं षष्ठेऽधिकारविधिप्रमेयः फलसम्बन्धो निरूपितः । तत्र स्वर्ग-

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१. T. शेषीति
२. T. निर्वृत्त
३. G. प्रयोजनकायाः
४. T. पूर्वमपचारे
५. G. तत्पुनः
६. T omits श्रुत्यादिभिः
७. T. स्थानेन
८. T. क्रमं श्रुत्यादिभिः सापवादः
९. G. कार्यभेदस्य

कामादिपदं विधि[1]प्रयोजनभूतपुरुषप्रवृत्त्यपेक्षित[2]फलविशेषान्वयपरम्, न तु चन्द-[3]नादिरूपयागादिद्रव्यसमर्पकम् । [4]तच्च फलं स्वर्गकाम इत्याद्युद्देश्यगतलिङ्ग-विशेषस्याविवक्षितत्वात् स्त्रीणामप्यविशिष्टम् । "ऋद्धिकामाः सत्र-मासीरन्" [5]इत्यत्रैकैकस्य कृत्स्नं फलम्, न तु परिषद्गतं फलमित्येकैकस्य फलान्वयः—इत्येवमादिरूपेणाधिकारार्थः [6]षष्ठे सापवादः प्रपञ्चितः ॥

एवं विधिचतु[7]ष्टयात्मकोपदेशविचारे पूर्वषट्केन कृते ततः परमध्याय-[8]चतुष्टयेनातिदेशविचारः क्रिय[9]न्ते । 'इत्थं कर्तव्यम्' इति प्रति[10]पादनमुपदेशः । 'तद्वत्कर्तव्यम्' इत्यतिदेशः । तत्र सप्तमाष्टमयोर्वचननामधेयचोदकैरतिदेशो निरूपितः । इषुनामके क्रतौ कांश्चिद्वैशेषिकान् धर्मान् विधायाम्नातेन "समानमितरच्छ्येनेन" इति प्रत्यक्षवचनेन [11]श्येनवैशेषिकाङ्गानामिषावतिदेशः ; "मासमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति" इत्यत्र नित्याग्निहोत्रेऽग्निदेव[12]ताकत्वात् तावत्क्लृप्तशक्तिकेन तत्सादृश्य-विधित्सया कौण्डपायिनामयने कर्मणि प्रयुक्तेनाग्निहोत्रनामधेयेन तस्मिन्नित्याग्नि-होत्रधर्माणामतिदेशश्च सापवादः सप्तमे पादत्रयेण निरूपितः ॥

चतुर्थपादेन "सौर्यं चरुं निर्वपेत्" इत्यादिष्वनुपदिष्टधर्मेषु प्रत्यक्ष-वचनस्य नाम्नश्चातिदेशकस्याभावेऽपि कुतश्चिद्वैदिकात् कर्मणो धर्म[13]ग्राहकं वचन-मस्तीत्यानुमानिकवचनरूपेण चोदकेनातिदेशः सामान्यतो निरूपितः ॥

अष्टमे तु कस्य कुतो धर्मप्राप्तिरित्याकाङ्क्षायां शब्दार्थगतसादृश्यविशेष-लिङ्गादिष्टीनां दर्शपूर्णमासतो धर्मप्राप्तिः, अग्नीषोमीयप[14]शुतः पशूनाम्, सवनीयादैकादशिनानाम्, ज्योतिष्टोमात् सोमानाम्, द्वादशाहादहर्गणानाम्, गवामयनात् संवत्सरसत्राणाम्—इत्येवंरूपेण विशि[15]ष्य चोदकातिदेशः सापवादः प्रपञ्चितः ॥

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१. G. प्रयोगभूत
२. T. पुरुषविशेष
३. T. चन्दनरूपयागादि
४. T. ततश्च
५. T. इत्यादावेकैकस्य
६. T. सापवादः षष्ठे
७. G. चतुष्टयप्रमेयात्मचतुष्टयेनातिदेशविचारे
८. T. चतुर्थेन
९. T omits क्रियते
१०. T omits प्रतिपादनं
११. T omits श्येन
१२. T. देवतासद्भावात् क्लृप्त
१३. G. धर्मप्रापकं
१४. T omits पशु
१५. G. omits विशिष्य

अतिदिष्टानां मन्त्रसामसंस्काराणां प्राकृतपदार्थकार्यापन्नवैकृतपदार्थान्तरसम्बन्धेनान्यथाभावरूप ऊहो नवमे चिन्तितः । प्रा[1]कृतपदार्थकार्यापत्तिः प्रत्यक्षेण अनुमानेन[न, प्रत्यक्षवचनेन,] प्रत्यक्षवचनावगतप्राकृतनिवृत्त्यनुमितशब्देन, प्रत्यक्षवचनावगतलिङ्गोन्नीतनिवृत्त्यनुमितशब्देन वावसीयते। "नैवारश्चरुः" इत्यत्र प्राकृतव्रीहिकार्यहविर्निष्पादकत्वं प्रत्यक्षेणावसीयते, न[2] तु नैवार इति तद्धितेन, "तस्येदम्" इति सम्बन्धसामान्येऽण्प्रत्ययविधानात् तस्य प्रकृतिविकारभावै[3]रूपसम्बन्धविशेषपर्यवासायित्वकल्पनायाः प्रत्यक्षाधीनत्वात् । नैर्ऋतं चरुं प्रकृत्ये[4] "कृष्णानां व्रीहीणां नखनिर्भिन्नम्" इत्यत्र श्रुतस्य नखस्य प्राकृतोलूखलमुसलकार्यापत्तिः न प्रत्यक्षेणावसीयते । उलूखलमुसलाभ्यां व्रीहीणामवहननं निष्पद्यते[5], नखेन [6]निर्भेदनमिति प्रत्यक्षेण कार्यभेदस्यैव दर्शनात्; किन्तु अवहननेनेव निर्भेदनेनापि तुषविमोकात् त[7]ण्डुलनिष्पत्तिदर्शनेन प्राकृतावघातस्योलूखलमुसलकार्यतायां यद्रूपं विवक्षितं तण्डुलनिष्पत्तिद्वारेणापूर्वोपयोगिक्रियात्वं तन्निर्भेदनेऽपि समानमिति तेन रूपेणावहनननिर्भेदनयोरैक्यस्योन्नेयत्वात् कार्यापत्तिरनुमानेनावसीयते । "परिधौ पशुं नियुञ्जीत" इत्यत्र प्रा[8]कृतपशुकार्ये पशुनियोजने परिधेर्विनियोगः प्रत्यक्षवचनेनाभिधीयते । "न गिरा गिरेति ब्रूयादैरं कृत्वोद्गेयम्" इ[9]त्यत्र गिरापदोक्तिप्रतिषेधावगतया गिरापदनिवृत्त्या तत्कार्यस्य साधनापेक्षत्वावगमात्तत्कार्यवाचिपदमनुमाय 'गिरापदकार्यार्थमैरं कृत्वोद्गेयम्' इत्येवंरूपेण श्रुतानुमितैकदेशनिष्पादितेन वा[10]क्येन गिरापदकार्यापत्तिरिरापदस्यावसीयते । "यस्योभयं हविरार्तिमार्च्छेदैन्द्रं पञ्चशरावमोदनं निर्वपेत्" इत्यत्र पञ्चशरावद्रव्यकस्य यागस्य[11] दर्शकार्यापत्तौ दर्शनिवृत्तिर्न प्रत्यक्षवचनादवगम्यते ; किन्तु द्रव्यनाशादव[12]गम्यते[दुन्नीयते] ।

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१. G omits प्रकृत...पत्तिः and adds तत्र
२. T omits न तु
३. G. भावसंबन्ध
४. G omits प्रकृत्य and reads in its place निर्ऋत्यै चरुं
५. G. निष्पद्यते
६. T adds तेषां
७. T omits तण्डुल...विवाक्षितम्
८. T. प्राग्यूपकार्ये
९. T omits इत्यत्र...कृत्वोद्गेयं
१०. G omits वाक्येन
११. T adds च
१२. G. दनुष्ठीयते

तन्निवृत्तौ तत्कार्यस्य साधनापेक्षतया[1] तद्वाचिपदमनुमाय 'दर्शकार्यार्थमैन्द्रं पञ्चशरावमोदनं निर्वपेत्' इति श्रुतानुमितैकदेशनिष्पाद्येन वाक्येन पञ्चशरावयागस्य दर्शकार्यापत्तिरवसीयते । "स प्रत्यामनेत्स्थानात्"[2] इति षष्ठाध्यायाधिकरणपूर्वपक्षरीत्येदमुदाहरणम् । सिद्धान्ते[3] द्रव्यापचारे द्रव्यान्तरानयनेन दर्शनिष्पत्तेर्न तन्निवृत्त्युन्नयनमस्तीत्युदाहरणान्तरमन्वेषणीयम् ॥

एवं कार्यापत्त्या व्रीहिधर्माणामवघातादीनां नीवारेषु, उलूखलमुसलधर्माणां प्रोक्षणादीनां नखेषु, यूपधर्माणां परिव्याणादीनां परिधौ चोहः संस्कारोहः, दर्शधर्माणां[5] सिद्धान्ते नास्त्यूहः पञ्चशरावयागे । गिरापदगतगीतिक्रियायां[4] इरापदे ऊहः सामोहः । मन्त्रोहस्त्वष्टविधः—क्वचित् प्रकृतिमात्रमूह्यते, यथा "अग्नये[6] जुष्टम्" इति मन्त्रे सौर्यं चरुं प्राप्ते "सूर्याय जुष्टम्" इति ; क्वचिल्लिङ्गमात्रमूह्यते, यथा "वस्व्यसि रुद्रासि" इत्येकहायनीमन्त्रे विकृतिविशेषविहितं सोमक्रयणं वत्सं प्राप्ते "वसुरसि रुद्रोऽसि" इति ; क्वचिद्वचनमात्रमूह्यते, यथा "छागस्य वपाया मेदसः" इति मन्त्रे प्राजापत्यान् पशून् प्राप्ते "छागानाम्" इति ; क्वचित् प्रकृतिर्लिङ्गं चोह्यते, यथा तस्मिन्नेवं[7] "अग्नये जुष्टं [8]निर्वपामि" इति मन्त्रे आदित्यं चरुं प्राप्ते[9] "अदित्यै जुष्टम्" इति ; क्वचित् प्रकृतिः वचनं चोह्यते, यथा तस्मिन्नेव मन्त्रे वैश्वदेवं चरुं प्राप्ते "विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः" इति ; क्वचिल्लिङ्गं वचनं चोह्यते, यथा "प्रास्मा अग्निं भरत" इति मन्त्रे "मल्हा आलभेत" इति विहितान्[10] पशून् प्राप्ते "प्राभ्योऽग्निम्" इति ; क्वचित् त्रीण्यप्यूह्यन्ते, यथा "आपो देवीः" इति मन्त्रे[11] "आज्यं प्रोक्षणम्" इति सोमारौद्रचरौ विहितं घृतं प्राप्ते "घृत देव"[12] इति ; क्वचित् सकलस्य पदस्याभ्यासरूप ऊहः, यथा "एकधास्य त्वचमाच्छय-

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१. T. पेक्षया
२. T. प्रत्यमाने
३. T adds तु
४. G. क्रियायामिरापदे
५. Both G and T read दर्श...यागे after समोहः G दर्शधर्माणां तु
६. G. "अग्नये जुष्टं निर्वपामि" इत्यत्राग्निस्थाने सौर्यचरौ "सूर्याय" इति
७. T omits तस्मिन्नेव
८. T omits निर्वपामीति मन्त्रे
९. T adds मन्त्रे
१०. T. विहितं पशुं
११. G. मन्त्रेण
१२. G. धृतं देवं

तात्'' इति मन्त्रे पशुगणं प्राप्ते "एकधैकधा" इति। एवमूहः सापवादो नवमे प्रपञ्चितः[1] ॥

एवमातिदेशिकपदार्थगतरूपान्तरात्मकोहनिरूपणानन्तरं तन्निवृत्त्यात्मको बाधो दशमे निरूपितः। निवृत्तिश्च कस्यचित् कचिदतिदेशवाक्यप्रवृत्तिकाले प्रकृतावविज्ञातत्वेन तद्ग्राह्यत्वासंभवात्, यथा दर्शपूर्णमासाङ्गभूताया आरम्भणीयाया:[याः आम्भणीयायाम्]। न ह्यारम्भणीयाविधानसमये[2] दर्शपूर्णमासयोरारम्भणीयाङ्गमिति विज्ञातम्, येन सापि प्रयाजादिवदतिदेशवाक्येन[3] गृह्येत ; कस्यचिदतिदेशवाक्यप्रवृत्तिकाले प्रकृतौ[4] विज्ञातस्याप्यसम्भवान्निवृत्तिः, यथा पवमानेष्टावग्निहोत्रहवण्याः। ययाग्निहोत्रं हुतं साग्निहोत्रहवणी प्रकृतौ "अग्निहोत्रहवण्या हवींषि निर्वपति" इति निर्वापकरणत्वेन[5] ग्राह्येति स्थितम्। न च पवमानेष्टिसमयेऽग्निहोत्रं हुतम्। कचित् द्वारलोपान्निवृत्तिः तत्र द्वारलोपः कचित् द्वारस्या[6]भिमतस्य स्वतः सिद्धतया, यथा कृष्णलेष्ववघातद्वारस्य वैतुष्यस्य स्वतःसिद्धतयावघातस्य निवृत्तिः ; कचित् पूर्वसिद्धतया, यथा "खलेवाली यूपो भवति" इत्यत्र खलेवाल्याः[7] प्रागेव च्छित्वा तक्षणेन श्लक्ष्णीकृत्य निखातायाः छेदनतक्षणोच्छ्रयणादीनां[8] निवृत्तिः ; कचित् द्वारसंपादनाशक्त्या। यथा—प्राशित्रेडाभक्षणार्थेषु कृष्णलेषु अभिघारणजन्योपकारस्य स्वादिम्नः संपादयितुमशक्यत्वात् अभिघारणस्य[9] ; कचित् सिद्धशेषिविरोधान्निवृत्तिः, यथा—आग्रयण[10]दक्षिणारूपे वत्सेऽन्वाहार्यधर्मस्य पाकस्य। पाके हि कृते वत्सो नश्येत् ; तन्मांसमेव दक्षिणा स्यात्। कचित् साध्यशेषिविरोधात् [11]तन्निवृत्तिः, यथा "बार्हस्पत्यो नैवारः

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१. T. विचिन्तितः

२. T. विधिसमये

३. T. देशवाक्येन

४. T. प्रवृत्तौ

५. T. अत्र निर्वापे करणत्वेन

६. G. Space is left out for writing द्वारस्य

७. T. प्रागेव खलेवाल्याः

८. T. उच्छ्रूणातां

९. G. अभिघारणनिवृत्तिः

१०. G. Space is left out for writing णदाक्षि

११. T omits तत्

सप्तदशशरावः चरुर्भवति" इत्यत्र निर्वाप्येषु[1] "चतुरो मुष्टीन्निर्वपति" इत्यति-देश[2]प्राप्तस्य चतुर्मुष्टिपरिमाणस्य सप्तदशपरिमाणचरुरूपसाध्यशेषिविरोधित्वात् संख्यामुष्ट्यो[3]रन्यतरबाधावश्यंभावे जघन्यत्वान्मुष्टिनिवृत्तिः ; क्वचिद्विरोधाभावेऽपि प्रयो[4]जनाभावान्निवृत्तिः, यथा आग्रयणदक्षिणारूपे वाससि पाकस्य । प्र[5]कृतौ हि अन्वाहार्यरूपदक्षिणाद्रव्यनिष्पत्त्यर्थम् "दक्षिणाग्नावपरिमितं महान्तमोदनं [6]पचति" इति पाको विहितः । इह दक्षिणाद्रव्ये वाससि प्रागेव निष्पन्ने स्थिते तन्निष्पत्त्यनुपयोगिना किं पाकेन ।[7]।

द्वारलोपान्निवृत्तिरित्यत्र द्वारशब्देन यद्द्वारतया फलतया वा प्रयोजनं [8]तत्सर्वं विवक्षितम् । तेन मृते यजमाने क्रियमाणायामिष्टौ "आयुराशास्ते" इत्यादिमन्त्राणां विवक्षितफलानां मृतयजमानस्यायुरादिफललोपान्निवृत्तिरप्यु-दाहरणमित्यादि[9] द्रष्टव्य[10]म् ॥

क्वचित् प्रत्याम्नानात् प्राकृतपदा[11]र्थानां निवृत्तिः । साप्यनेकविधा । क्वचि-दुपदिष्टपदार्थविरोधान्निवृत्तिः, यथा—"औदुम्बरो यूपो भवति" इति वैकृत[12]पशौ अतिदेशप्राप्तयूपोद्देशेन उदुम्ब[13]ररूपप्रकृतिद्रव्यविधाना[14]त् उदुम्बरप्रकृतिके यूपे प्राकृतस्य बिल्वपलाशादेः विरोधेन प्रकृतित्वासम्भवान्निवृत्तिः ; क्वचिदुपदिष्ट-[15]पदार्थगतश्रुतनैरपेक्ष्यविरोधान्निवृत्तिः, यथा—"नैवारश्चरुर्भवति" इत्यत्र नीवारप्रकृतिके चरौ व्रैहतण्डुलानामपि मिश्रणेन प्रकृतित्वसम्भवेऽपि नीवारशब्दपर-

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१. T. निर्वापेषु
२. T. देशप्राप्तसप्तदशशरावपरिमाण-
३. T. मुष्टेः
४. G. Space is left out for writing योजनाभावात्
५. T. प्रवृत्तौ
६. G. Space is left out for writing पच...दक्षिणा
७. G. adds यदा
८. G. तत्सर्वमपि वि...तमनेन
९. G. इति
१०. T. द्रव्येष्टौ
११. T. पदार्थनिवृत्तिः
१२. G. दैक्षपशौ
१३. T. औदुम्बरयूप
१४. T. विधौ
१५. T omits पदार्थ

तद्धितोत्पत्त्यवगतनैरपेक्ष्यविरोधात् व्रीहीणां निवृत्तिः । नीवाराणां व्रीहिसापेक्षाणां चरुप्रकृतित्वे हि सापेक्षमसमर्थमिति असमर्थात् तद्धितोत्पत्तिः[१] न स्यात् । क्वचिदविरोधेऽपि नैरपेक्ष्यान्निवृत्तिः, यथा—आग्रयणे "वासो दक्षिणा" "वत्सः प्रथमजो दक्षिणा" इति श्रुताभ्यां वासोवत्साभ्याम् ऋत्विजामानतौ तयोरन्वाहार्यनिरपेक्षकारणत्वात् प्राकृतान्वाहार्य[२]दक्षिणाया निवृत्तिः ; क्वचिन्नैरपेक्ष्याभावेऽपि नियमवशात् निवृत्तिः, यथा—ऋतपेये "औदुम्बरसोमचमसो दक्षिणा सप्रियाय सगोत्राय ब्रह्मणे देयः" इति श्रुतेन सोमचमसेन केवलं ब्रह्मणे दत्तेन लौकिकोपायान्तरमनपेक्ष्य ऋत्विजामानै[३]तेरसम्भवेऽपि श्रुतनियमविधिवशात् प्राकृत[४]द्वादशशतदक्षिणाया निवृत्तिरित्युदाहरणीयम्[५] ॥

क्वचित् प्रतिषेधात् प्राकृतपदार्थनिवृत्तिः । प्रतिषेधशब्देनात्र यः कश्चित् प्राकृतपदार्थनिवृत्तिपरो[६] विधिः स सर्वोऽपि विवक्षितः । तेन महापितृयज्ञे "नार्षेयं वृणीते" इत्यनेन आर्षेयवरणवर्जं प्रकृतिवत् कुर्यात् इति पर्युदासेन या तस्मिन्नार्षेय[७]वरणनिवृत्तिः "न तौ पशौ करोति" इति आज्यभागनिषेधाद्वा[८] पशावाज्यभागानिवृत्तिः, "आज्यभागौ यजति[९]" इति अपूर्वतापरविधिना आज्यभागयो[१०]: या गृहमेधीये निवृत्तिः सा सर्वा[११]प्यत्रोदाहरणम् । [१२]एवं च दर्शपूर्णमासयोः "कपालेषु श्रपयति" इति वाक्यस्य तण्डुलहविष्केषु चित्रादिषु व्रीह्युपादाननिवृत्तेरेव फलत्वात् साप्यत्रोदारणम् । यथा च "कपालेषु[१३] श्रपयति" इति विधेः तण्डुलहविष्कासु विकृतिषु प्रकृतिद्रव्योपादाननिवृत्तिरेव फलम् , तथा प्रपञ्चेन[१४] प्रसाधितमस्माभिः **विधिरसायने** ॥

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१. G. तद्धितानुत्पादात्

२. T. प्राक्तान्वाहार्ये

३. G. नतेः

४. T प्राकृत्या

५. T. उदाहार्यम्

६. T. निवृत्तिफलको

७. G. Space is left out for writing न्नार्षे...वृत्तिः

८. T. निषेधात्

९. G. करोति

१०. T. भागानां

११. T omits सर्वा

१२. G omits एवं च

१३. G. Space is left out for writing लेषु...विधेः

१४. T omits प्रपञ्चेन

एवमुपदेशविषये[1] अतिदेशविषये च पृथङ्निरूपणीयेषु निरूपितेषु तदुभयसाधारणयोः तन्त्रप्रसङ्गयोः निरूपणीययोः एकादशे तन्त्रं निरूपितम् । तत्त्रिविधम्—फलतन्त्रम्, पदार्थतन्त्रम्[2], अनुष्ठानतन्त्रम् चेति । "दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत" इत्यत्र[3] फलमुद्दिश्योपादीयमानानां आग्नेयादीनां षण्णां द्वन्द्वावगतम्, "राजसूयेन[4] स्वाराज्यकामो यजेत" इत्यत्र बहूनामिष्टिपशुसोमानामेकेन नाम्नोपादानात्[5] तन्त्राभिधानावगतं च साहित्यं विवक्षितमिति सहितानां फलान्वयात् आग्नेयादीनां षण्णां फलं राजसूयनामगृहीतानां च फलं साधारणम् । तदेतत् फलतन्त्रम् ॥

"समे दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत" "पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमास्या यजेत" "दर्शपूर्णमासयोः चत्वार ऋत्विजः" इति विहिता देशकालकर्तार एकफलसाधनानां कर्मणां यथायोगं साधारणा इत्येतत्पदार्थतन्त्रम् ॥

एकफलानामेकदेशकालकर्तृकाणां यदङ्गभूतप्रयाजाद्यनुष्ठानं साधारणं तदनुष्ठानतन्त्रम् । फलैक्येऽपि यत्र देशकालकर्तृणामन्यतमस्यापि भेदः तत्र प्रतिप्रधानमङ्गानुष्ठानावृत्तिलक्षणः आवापः । तत्र द्वादशाहे द्वादशानां सोमयागानां द्वादशस्वहस्सु कर्तव्यानां कालभेदात् सुत्याकालकर्तव्यसवनीयपशुप्रभृत्यङ्गानुष्ठानावृत्तिः, वरुणप्रघासेषु नवहविष्कायामिष्टौ विहारद्वयं विधाय "अष्टावध्वर्युरुत्तरे विहारे हवींष्यासादयति मारुतीमेव प्रतिप्रस्थाता दक्षिणस्मिन्" इति देशभेदविधानात् तत्र तत्र देशेऽष्टानां हविषां मारुत्याश्चाङ्गानुष्ठानं भिद्यत इति देशभेदेन तदावृत्तिः ; तत्रैव "गार्हपत्ये पत्नीसंयाजान् जुहोति" इति विहितानाम् आपराग्निकहोमानां[6] देशकालैक्येऽपि अध्वर्युप्रतिप्रस्थातृरूप-

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१. G विषयेष्वतिदेशविषयेषु च

२. G. अनुष्ठानतन्त्रं पदार्थतन्त्रं चेति

३. T adds बहूनाम् एकं

४. T. राज...नावगतं is written after आग्नेयादीनां षण्णां

५. T. नाम्ना तन्त्रा

६. G. आपराह्निक

कर्तृभेदात् भेदः । यत्र कर्तृत्वाधिष्ठानाभेदेऽपि कर्तृकारकभेदः तत्रापि प्रयोगभेदेन अङ्गानुष्ठानावृत्तिरेव[1], यथा "अग्नावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं निर्वपति वामनो वही दक्षिणा" "सोमापौष्णं चरुं निर्वपति श्यामो दक्षिणा" इत्यादिवाक्यविहितेषु[2] राजसूयान्तर्गतयागेषु देशकालफलभेदाप्रतीतावपि वामनानतैः आग्नावैष्णवयागः कर्तव्यः ; श्यामानतैः सोमापौष्णः चरुः कर्तव्य इत्येवं दक्षिणाव्यवस्थया[3] तद्भेदात् कर्तृरूपं भिद्यत इति ततः[4] [इत्यतः] प्रतियागप्रयोग-भेदात् अङ्गानुष्ठानावृत्तिः । यानि तु कालभेदेन कर्तव्यानामपि प्रधानानां[5] कर्मकालाद्यङ्गानि तान्यगृह्यमाणविशेषत्वात् सर्वेषां[6] तन्त्रं भजन्ति, यथा ज्योतिष्टोमे अग्नीषोमीयसवनीयानूबन्ध्यपशूनाम् "दीक्षासु यूपं छिनत्ति" इति दीक्षाकालकर्तव्यत्वेन विहितो यूपः ; यथा द्वादशाहे द्वादशानां सोम-यागानामहर्भेदेन कर्तव्यानां दीक्षोपसदादय इत्येवं[7] सापवादं तन्त्रमेकादशे निरूपितम् ॥

द्वादशे प्रसङ्गो निरूपितः । अन्यार्थेनान्यस्य तत्प्रयुक्तिशक्तस्योपकारः[8] प्रसङ्गः—यथा भोजनार्थं प्रथममागतस्याचार्यस्य कृतेन सूपापूपादिना पश्चादागतस्य स्वयमाचार्यनैरपेक्ष्येणापि सूपापूपादिप्रयुक्तिशक्तस्य[9] जामातुरुपकारः । यत्तु अन्या-र्थेन स्वयं तत्प्रयुक्तिशक्तिरहितमुपक्रियते तन्न प्रसङ्गि ; किन्तु आचार्यार्थकृत-सूपाद्युपक्रियमाणपरिचारकादिवत् तदुपजीव्यप्रयोजकम्[10], यथा दध्यानयनेन उपक्रियमाणं वाजिनम् । पुरोडाशकपालं प्रति तुषोपवापस्य शेषित्वे सत्यपि न तत्प्रयुक्तिशक्तिः पुरोडाशकपालेनेति सविशेषणोपादानेनान्यप्रयुक्त्युप-[11] जीवित्वाविष्करणात् । स च प्रसङ्गः त्रिविधः—अनुष्ठानप्रसङ्गः पदार्थप्रसङ्गः

१. T. प्रयोगभेदादङ्गानामावृत्तिरेव
२. G. वाक्येषु
३. G. व्यवस्थितया
४. G. Space is left out for writing ततः . . . अङ्गा
५. T. प्रधानकर्मणा कर्म-
६. G. Space is left out for writing सर्वेषां तन्त्रं
७. T. इत्येवं रूपेण
८. T. शक्तिकस्य
९. T. शक्तिकस्य
१०. T. प्रयोजनं
११. G. Space is left out for writing नान्य . . . प्रसङ्गः

शास्त्रप्रसङ्गश्चेति । तत्र पश्वर्थप्रयाजाद्यनुष्ठानेन पशुपुरोडाशाद्युपकारोऽनुष्ठानप्रसङ्गः ; सौमिक्या वेद्या सोमान्तर्गतेष्टिपशूनामुपकारः पदार्थप्रसङ्गः ; "याजनादिभिः ब्राह्मणो धनमार्जयेत्" इति द्रव्यार्जनशास्त्रेण ज्योतिष्टोमादिशास्त्रस्य ऋत्विगपेक्षस्याविशेषेण त्रैवर्णिकानामार्त्विज्यमाक्षेप्तुं प्रवृत्तस्योपकारः शास्त्रप्रसङ्गः—इत्येवमादिरूपेण द्वादशे सापवादः प्रसङ्गो निरूपितः ॥

इति धर्ममीमांसासारसङ्ग्रहव्याख्या परिभाषा
पूर्वमीमांसाविषयसङ्ग्रहदीपिका
अप्पय्यदीक्षितकृता
॥ समाप्ता ॥

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GUṆAVIṢṆU AND SĀYAṆA[1]

BY

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Guṇaviṣṇu is the author of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*, a good edition of which has been brought out recently (in 1930) at Calcutta (Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad Series, No. 19) by Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya. It is said by the editor, on p. xxxv of his *Introduction*, that two other works also, a commentary on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa* and another on the mantras occurring in the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra*, have been written by Guṇaviṣṇu; but of the last-named work no copy has yet come to light, and it is therefore very doubtful if Guṇaviṣṇu ever wrote such a work.

One remarkable fact in connection with the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* is the close verbal agreement that is observable between the explanations given by Guṇaviṣṇu of some mantras and those given by Sāyaṇa, in respect of the same mantras, in his commentary on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*. Prof. Bhattacharya has drawn attention to this matter on p. xxvii ff. of the above-mentioned *Introduction*, and has given on p. xxviii three examples of such agreement. I give here three other examples[2]:

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1. Paper read at the 8th All-India Oriental Conference, (Vedic section) at Mysore, on 31st December 1935.

2. That there is close verbal agreement between Sāyaṇa's and Guṇaviṣṇu's explanations of these three mantras, has already been mentioned by Joergensen on p. viii of the introduction to his edition of the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* of the Sāmaveda; *see* p. xxix of Prof. Bhattacharya's introduction to his edition of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*.

Sāyaṇa's bhāṣya[1] on SM Br., 2, 4, 2-4:

इमं स्तोममित्यनेन जागतेन कौत्सोऽग्निमस्तौत् । पृष्ठ्यस्य षडहस्य षष्ठेऽहनि आग्निमारुते शस्त्रे विनियोगः ।

इमं स्तोमं वयं **सम्महेम** । मह पूजायाम् । सम्यक् पूजोपकरणयुक्तं कुर्मः । **जातवेदसे** जातविद्यो वा जातधनो वा जातप्रज्ञो वा जातवेदाः तदर्थम् । किंभूताय । **अर्हते** स्तुतियोग्याय । कया । **मनीषया** प्रज्ञया **रथमिव** सारथिः । **हि** यस्मात् कारणात् **नः** अस्माकम् **अस्य** अग्नेः सकाशात् प्रसादाद्वा भद्रा कल्याणी सुखा वा **प्रमतिः** प्रकृष्टा बुद्धिः **संसदि** जनसमाजे जायते यथा वयमपि स्तोत्रं जानीमः । तस्माद्धे **अग्ने** यस्त्वमेवंभूतः तस्य **तव सख्ये** मित्रत्वे स्थिता वयं केनचिद् दुरात्मना **मा रिषाम** मा हिंसिष्मेत्येतदाशास्यम् ।

Guṇaviṣṇu's bhāṣya on Chāndogyamantra-pāṭha[2], 1, 7-9:

जगतीत्रयमिदम्, कौत्स ऋषिः, अग्निर्देवता, पृष्ठ्यस्य षडहस्य षष्ठेऽहनि आग्निमारुते शस्त्रे परिसमूहने च विनियोगः तथा च गृह्यम् (गो. ४, ४, ५) "इमं भराम शकेमेति परिसमूहेत्" । **इमं स्तोमं** स्तवं वयं **सम्महेम**, मह पूजायाम्, सम्यक् पूजोपकरणयुक्तं कुर्याम । कस्मै । **जातवेदसे** जातविद्यो वा जातधनो वा जातविज्ञानो वा जातवेदाः तस्मै । किंभूताय । **अर्हते** स्तुतियोग्याय । कया । **मनीषया** प्रज्ञया । **रथमिव** सारथिरित्यध्याहार्यम् । **हि** यस्मात् नः अस्माकम् **अस्य** अग्नेः सकाशात् **भद्रा** कल्याणी मुख्या वा[3] **प्रमतिः** प्रकृष्टा बुद्धिः **संसदि** जनसमाजे जायते यथा वयमपि स्तोतुं जानीमः । तस्मात् हे **अग्ने** यस्त्वमेवंभूतस्तस्य **तव सख्ये** मित्रत्वे स्थिता

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1. As the editions of Stoenner and Joergensen of Chaps. I and II of the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* of the Sāmaveda are not accessible to me, I have here reproduced the text of Sāyaṇa's commentary that is contained in a ms. of the Mysore Oriental Library. This ms. (no. B 827) is written on paper, and is a copy made for the library by a copyist. As the reading of this ms. agrees essentially with that found in two other parm-leaf mss. of the same library, one can assume that it is a faithful representative of the commentary written by Sāyaṇa. There are many corruptions and omissions in all the three mss. In the passages reproduced by me, obvious corruptions have been emended whenever it has been possible to do so.

2. I shall make use of this name when referring to the collection of mantras that have been explained by Guṇaviṣṇu in his *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*.

3. This is without doubt a corruption for *sukhā*; compare Sāyaṇa's explanation.

सम्महेमा रिषामेति च मकाररेफयोः लघ्वोः परतः “एकादशिद्वादशिनोर्लघावष्टममक्षरम्[1]”, इति शौनकवचनात् [ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य, 8, 21; sūtra 523 in Max Muller's edition] दीर्घत्वम् । पाणिनिनापि “अन्येषामपि दृश्यते” इति दीर्घः ॥ 2.

भरामेध्मम् । हे अग्ने त्वदर्थ**मिध्मम्** । अग्निसमिन्धनं काष्ठमिध्ममित्युच्यते । तमिध्मं **भराम** आहराम । **हवींषि च** चर्वादीनि **पर्वणा पर्वणा** पर्वणि पर्वणि **चितयन्तः** जनयन्तः **वयं कृणवाम** सम्पादयाम इति यावत् । तथा च श्रुतिः “अमावास्यायाममावास्येन यजेत पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमासेन यजेत” इति । किमर्थम् । **प्रतराम्** अत्यन्तं दीर्घकालं **जीवातवे** जीवनाय “तुमर्थे सेसेन्” इति जीवतेस्तवेन्प्रत्ययः । किं च हे अग्ने **साधयधियः** । धीरिति कर्मनामगणे पठ्यते । तेनेदमुक्तं भवति । अस्माभिः क्रियमाणानि कर्माणि साधय निष्पादय सफलानि कुर्वित्यर्थः । साधयेति यकारस्य शौनकवचनात्[2] दीर्घत्वम् । कृणवामेति च मकारस्य हकारे परतः[3] पूर्वदीर्घत्वम् ॥ 3.

वयं केनचिद् दुरात्मना **मा रिषाम** मा हिंसिष्महि तदाशास्यते । संमहेमेति । रिषामेति चात्र “अन्येषामपि दृश्यते” इति दीर्घः ॥ 7.

हे अग्ने त्वदर्थम् इध्मं यज्ञदारु **भराम** आहराम । **हवींषि** चरुप्रभृतीनि **पर्वणा पर्वणा** पर्वणि पर्वणि वयं **कृणवाम** संपादयाम निर्वपामेति यावत् । तथा च श्रुतिः “अमावास्यायाममावास्येन यजेत पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमासेन” इति । किमर्थम् । **प्रतराम्** अतिशयेन प्रकृष्टं सुदीर्घकालं **जीवातवे** जीवनाय । किं च । **साधय धियः** । धीरिति कर्मणो नाम । तेनैतदुक्तं भवति । अस्माभिः क्रियमाणानि कर्माणि साधय सफलानि कुरु इत्यर्थः । भरामेति “हृग्रहोर्भश्छन्दसि” इति हकारस्य भकारः । पर्वणा पर्वणेति “सुपां सुलुक्” इत्यादिना सप्तम्या आल् । कृणवाम इति साधया इति “अन्येषामपि दृश्यते” इति दीर्घः ॥ 8.

हे अग्ने त्वम् अस्माकं **धियः** कर्माणि बुद्धीर्वा **साधय** त्वदाराधनयोग्या निष्पादय, यथा वयं **त्वा** त्वां **समिधं शकेम** परिचरितुं शक्नुयाम । **ते** त्वयि **आहुतं हविः देवाः** इन्द्रादयः **अदन्ति**

1. The ms. has here the corrupt reading *etau dvādaśadvādaśino lyabdho nāvāṣṭamam akārākṣaram*.

2. Śaunaka's rule that is referred to here is sūtra 525 (8,22) of the Ṛk-prātiśākhya: *daśamam caitayor evam*, and not sūtra 523 which has been cited above. It is probable, therefore, that the text here is corrupt and that Sāyaṇa actually cited this sūtra too here.

3. There is no rule in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* that enjoins the lengthening of a short *a* (or other short vowel) when *ha* follows, and I do not know to what rule, of that or other similar work, Sāyaṇa is here referring.

शकेम त्वा । हे भगवन् हे अग्ने त्वं **धियः** कर्माणि बुद्धीर्वा **साधय** त्वदाराधनयोग्यानि निष्पादय । येन **त्वा** त्वां वयं **समिधं** परिचरितुं **शकेमे**त्येतदाशास्महे । ते त्वयि **आहुतं हविर्हव्यं देवा** इन्द्रादय **अदन्ति** भक्षयन्ति । त्वन्मुखत्वात्तेषाम् । किं च **त्वमादित्यान् आवह** अदितेरपत्यान्यादित्याः सर्वदेवा उच्यन्ते । तान् आदित्यान् इन्द्रादीन् हे अग्ने त्वम् आवह **हि** यस्मात् तानादित्यान् **वयमुश्मसि** । उश्मः कामयामहे उद्देश्यत्वेन इच्छाम इत्यर्थः । **अग्ने सख्ये मा रिषा**मेति सर्वत्र तुल्यार्थः ॥ 4.

भक्षयन्ति, त्वन्मुखत्वात्तेषाम् । **अतस्त्वं तान् आदित्यान्** अदितेः पुत्रान् आवाहय, **हि** यस्मात् तान् आदित्यान् वयम् **उश्मसि** कामयामहे उद्देश्यत्वेन इच्छामः । **अग्ने सख्ये मा रिषाम वयं तव** इति सर्वत्र तुल्यम् । शकेम इति "लिङ्याशिष्यङ्" । समिधमिति तुमर्थे "शकि णमुल्कमुलौ" इति कमुल् । साधया इति "अन्येषामपि" इति दीर्घः । ते इति सप्तम्यर्थे षष्ठी । आदित्याँ, ताँ इति "दीर्घादटि समानपादे" इति रुत्वं यलोपः । "आतोऽटि नित्यम्" इत्यनुनासिकः । उश्मसि इति वश कान्तौ, "ग्रहि" इत्यादिसूत्रेण सम्प्रसारणम्, "इदन्तो मसि" इति इकारान्तता ॥ 9.

These examples make it plain that the verbal agreement observable in them is due, not to mere accident, but to conscious borrowing; that is to say, they make it clear that either Guṇaviṣṇu has borrowed his explanations from Sāyaṇa, or Sāyaṇa has borrowed his from Guṇaviṣṇu. It is the opinion of Prof. Bhattacharya (*op. cit.*, Intr., p. xxx) that the latter is the case, that the borrower is Sāyaṇa, and that Guṇaviṣṇu lived about two hundred years before Sāyaṇa;[1] and he has given the following reasons in support of that opinion:

(*a*) The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Parameśvara Jha, in the introduction (p. 174) to the edition of Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* published by him in Śaka 1828 at Darbhanga, has referred to a tradition which connects Guṇaviṣṇu with the court of King Ballālasena and his son Lakṣmaṇasena. According to this tradition, Guṇaviṣṇu flourished in the first half

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1. This opinion (*viz.*, that Guṇaviṣṇu is anterior to Sāyaṇa) has been repeated, on the one hand, by Pandit Bhagavad Datta in his *Vaidika Vāṅmayakā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, Part I, and by others also; on the other hand, Pandit Dakṣiṇācaraṇa Bhattacharya has anticipated Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya by giving expression to the same opinion on p. iv of the introduction to his edition of Aniruddha's *Pitṛdayitā* (no. 6 of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad Series, Calcutta).

of the 12th century A. D. and was about 200 years earlier than Sāyaṇa.

(*b*) Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, who lived in the first half of the 17th century A. D., has referred more than once to Guṇa-viṣṇu and Aniruddha in such a manner as to suggest that the *Pitṛḍayitā* of Aniruddha and the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu were written by them in execution of a common plan, the former dealing with the ritualistic application of mantras, and the latter with the explanation of their meaning. Compare for instance the passages *Aniruddha-likhito Guṇaviṣṇu-dhṛtaḥ; Aniruddha-likhitam Guṇaviṣṇunā vyākhyātam* and *tena likhitaṃ vyākhyātaṃ ca Guṇaviṣṇunā* that occur in his *Dhārmika-karma-rahasya*. Aniruddha was the *guru* of King Ballālasena, and Guṇaviṣṇu adorned the court of that king as also that of his son Lakṣmaṇasena. Hence Guṇaviṣṇu must have been a junior contemporary of Aniruddha, and must have flourished in the first half of the 12th century A. D.

(*c*) Halāyudha, author of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, has said of himself in that work that he was a Mahādharmādhyakṣa in the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena. Many of the mantras that he cites and explains in that work are explained in the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu also; and in the case of more than a hundred mantras, the explanations of Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu are identical or nearly so. Now although Halāyudha does not anywhere mention the name of Guṇaviṣṇu, it is shown by the following considerations that he has borrowed his explanations from the latter:

i. While commenting on a mantra in the section on *Garbhādhāna*, Halāyudha has said that it is omitted by some (*kaiś cin nādriyate;* p. 185 of T. Vidyānanda's edition of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*). Now this mantra does not, in fact, occur in the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* commented on by Guṇaviṣṇu, and it is, therefore, very probable that the reference is to him.

ii. In connection with the particular reading of a mantra, Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati has said in his *Sāmaga-mantra-vyākhyāna*: *kva cit tu Guṇaviṣṇu-pustake chāndasaḥ aster ādi-lopa iti pāṭhaḥ; na tu Halāyudhādi-śiṣṭa-parigṛhītaḥ.* "This reading of Guṇaviṣṇu has not been adopted by scholars like Halāyudha"; and this shows that he regards Guṇaviṣṇu as earlier than Halāyudha.

(*d*) There are references, implicit, however, and not explicit, to Guṇaviṣṇu in Sāyaṇa's commentary itself on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*. In his explanation of 1, 2, 18 and 2, 6, 1 of that work, Sāyaṇa has referred to the opinion of 'other commentator (s)' in the following words: *ke cid adur maṅgalīr iti pada-dvayaṃ kṛtvā yatas tvāṃ maṅgalavatyo yoṣitaḥ prādur iti yojayanti* and *ke cij juhotīti paṭhanti | tasmin pakṣe laukikoktiḥ| yasmāj juhomi ato varaṃ vṛṇe*. If one compares them with Guṇaviṣṇu's explanations of the same mantras (*Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* 3, 46 and 2, 25): *yataḥ maṅgalīḥ maṅgalavatyo devatāḥ tvām mahyam aduḥ dattavatyaḥ* and *ahaṃ hotā juhomi | yaḥ kaścid asmai...juhoti... asmai dadāti | yasmād evam ato 'haṃ varaṃ vṛṇe*, it becomes evident that it is Guṇaviṣṇu who is referred to by Sāyaṇa in these passages as *ke cit*.

These reasons, opines Prof. Bhattacharya, show conclusively that Guṇaviṣṇu was earlier than Sāyaṇa.

This opinion seems to me to be untenable since, as shown below, none of the above-mentioned reasons can bear examination:

(1) The tradition referred to by Pandit Parameśvara Jha is, by its very nature, incapable of proof or disproof; and one can give credence to it only if it is in accord with known facts. If it is in disaccord with such facts, it has to be rejected.

(2) The passages cited above from Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati's *Dhārmika-karma-rahasya* do not indicate that Guṇaviṣṇu and Aniruddha wrote their works in execution of a common plan. On the other hand, it is evident that Rāmanātha is citing Aniruddha and Guṇaviṣṇu as authorities in support of the particular reading that he adopted of some mantras. This reading, he says, is that adopted by Aniruddha when citing the mantras, and by Guṇaviṣṇu in his *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*. The question of chronology is far from Rāmanātha's mind, and he would have employed the same words even if Aniruddha had lived later than Guṇaviṣṇu. What concerns him solely here is the fact that the reading adopted by him of certain mantras is identical with that adopted by Aniruddha when he cited them in his work and by Guṇaviṣṇu when he explained them in his.

Hence it is not right to infer from his above-cited words that he believed that 'Aniruddha and Guṇaviṣṇu wrote their respective works in execution of a comman plan' and were

contemporaries. Such an inference, moreover, would be quite wide of the mark. The sections of Aniruddha's *Pitṛ-dayitā*, according to the *sūcī-patram* given in the Calcutta Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad edition of that work, deal respectively with *prātaḥ-kṛtya*, *ācamana-vidhi*, *danta-kāṣṭha-bhakṣaṇa-vidhi*, *sandhyā-vidhi*, *snānānuṣṭhāna-krama*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva-vidhi*, *pārvaṇa-śrāddhānūṣṭhāna-krama*, *dāna-māhātmya*, *preta-śrāddha*, *ambughaṭa-śrāddha*, *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, *sāṃvatsarika-śrāddha*, *nāndīmukha-śrāddha*, *śara-puttalaka-dāha*, *asthi-sañcayana*, *daśāha-kṛtya* and *vṛṣotsarga*. The mantras contained in the eight sections of the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*, on the other hand, are intended to be employed in *kuśaṇḍika*, *udīcya-karman*, *navagrahahoma*, *vivāha*, *garbhādhāna*, *puṃsavana-sīmantonnayana*, *śoṣyantī-homa*, *jātakarman*, *niṣkramaṇa*, *nāma-karaṇa*, *puruṣādhipatya-karman*, *anna-prāśana*, *putra-mūrdhopa-grahaṇa*, *cūḍākaraṇa*, *samāvartana*, *upanayana*, *nava-gṛha-praveśa*, *sandhyā*, *snāna-prakaraṇa*, *brahma-yajña*, *sūryārghya*, *bhagavat-pūjā*, *ādityopasthāna*, *vaiśvadeva-karman*, *śrāddha*, *antyeṣṭi*, *asthidāna* and *anna-bhojana* respectively.

It can be seen from the above list of contents that the two works have only about a third of their matter in common; and in fact, of the mantras that are contained in the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*, less than one third only have been cited by Aniruddha in his work. On the other hand, there are about twenty mantras in the latter work that are not found in the former. Further, it must be noted that even in the parts that are common to both works there are slight differences discernible occasionally; thus, for instance, the mantra *mṛttike brahma-dattāsi*...cited by Aniruddha (p. 11) in the section on *snānānuṣṭhāna-krama* is not found in the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*.[1]

The statement that Aniruddha's *Pitṛ-dayitā* and Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* have been written on the same plan is thus nothing short of grotesque; and it is very improbable that

1. For the rest, it is certainly true that, in the sections that are common, both works follow the same plan. This however is due to the fact that both works, Aniruddha's *Pitṛ-dayitā* and the Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha, are based on Gobhila's Gṛhya-sūtra and the *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa*. There is no need therefore to assume that Aniruddha and Guṇaviṣṇu evolved a common plan and wrote their works in accordance therewith.

Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, who was well-acquainted with both works, held such an opinion. Even if one grants that he did do so, this opinion would be of interest from a historical standpoint only, and cannot be regarded as proof that these authors were contemporaries.

(3) It is indeed true that, as Prof. Bhattacharya has said, the explanations given by Halāyudha, in the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, of more than a hundred mantras agree very closely with those given by Guṇaviṣṇu in the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*. How close this agreement is, will become evident from the following four examples.[1]

Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya.

5. 9: हे **आपः** **हि** यस्मात् यूयं **मयोभुवः** **स्थ** मयः सुखं तस्य भावयित्र्यः भवथ **ता** तस्मात् **नः** अस्मान् **ऊर्जे** अन्नाय **दधातन** स्थापयत । किं च **महे** महते **रणाय** रमणीयाय **चक्षसे** दर्शनीयाय अभिधातुं दधातन । अयमर्थः—हे आपः यतो यूयं सुखं प्रापयथ तस्मात् अस्मान् ऐहिकेन अन्नाद्येन आमुष्मिकेण च महारमणीयदर्शनेन परब्रह्मणा संयोजय न इत्यप्सु प्रार्थना । हिष्ठा इति अस्तेर्लट्, मध्यमपुरुषबहुवचनम् । 'पूर्वपदात्' इति षत्वम् । 'अन्येषामपि दृश्यते' इति दीर्घः । ता इति तच्छब्दात् ङसेः 'सुपां सुलुक्' इत्यादिना डादेशः । दधातन इति 'तप्तनप्तनथनाश्च' इति तनबादेशः । रणाय इति रमणीयशब्दस्य रणादेशः ।

Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva

h. 7. a: हे **आपः** **हि** यस्माद्यूयं **मयोभुवः** मयः सुखं तस्य भुवः भावयित्र्यः **स्थ** भवथ सुखदायिन्यो भवथेत्यर्थः । **ता** तस्मात् **नो** अस्मान् **ऊर्जे** अन्नाय **दधातन** स्थापथत । किं च **महे** महते **रणाय** रमणीयाय **चक्षसे** दर्शनीयाय दधातनेति पूर्वेणैव सम्बन्धः । अयं वाक्यार्थः—हे आपः यस्माद्यूयं सुखं प्रापयथ तस्मात् कारणादस्मानैहिकेनार्थेन आमुष्मिकेण महारमणीयदर्शनेन परमब्रह्मणा संयोजयतेति अप्सु प्रार्थना । अत्र ष्ठा इति कृतमूर्धन्यस्यास्तेः लोडादेशः । मध्यमपुरुषबहुवचने तस्य प्रयोगः । दधातनेति दधातेर्लोटि मध्यमपुरुषबहुवचनस्य स्थाने 'तप्तनप्तनथनाश्च' इति । तनादेशः । ता इति तच्छब्दात् ङसेः 'सुपां सुलुक्' इति सूत्रेण आदादेशः । महते

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1. Not having at hand T. Vidyānanda's edition of the Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva, I have in this paper made use of the Benares edition of that work published in Samvat 1941 and printed at the Vrajacandra Yantrālaya. This is not a critical edition; and there is no doubt, that, were one to be brought out, the agreement between the explanations of Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu would be found to be still more close than it is now.

पृषोदरादित्वाच्छन्दसि । चक्षसे इति चक्षिङः तुमर्थे असेन् ॥

1. 5: **विष्णुः** व्यापकः स भगवान् **इदं** जगत् **विचक्रमे** आक्रान्तवान् । कथमाक्रान्तवान् । **त्रेधा निदधे पदम्** । पृथिव्याम् आकाशे स्वर्गे च पदत्रयम् अर्पितवान् इत्यर्थः । **अस्य पांशुले** पांशुयुक्तायां भूमौ **पदं समूढं** सम्यङ् निविष्टम् । अयमर्थः—विष्णुर्भूम्याकाशस्वर्गात्मकं जगत् पादेनाक्रान्तवान् । तस्य पदं भूम्यां सम्यङ् निविष्टम् । एतेन विष्णुपदसम्बन्धेन भूमिरतीव शुद्धेति सा भूमिरस्मिन् सदने दुरुक्तादिकं समाधास्यतीति ॥

2. 16: **आपः नः** अस्माकं **शं** कल्याण्यो **भवन्तु** । किम्भूताः । **देवीः** देव्यः स्तुत्यादिविषयाः । किमर्थम् । **अभिष्टये** उपचयार्थं **पीतये** पानाय च । किं च **नः** अस्मान् **अभिस्रवन्तु** । किमर्थम् । **शंयोः** कल्याणयोगाय । आपः अस्माकम् उपचयाय पानाय कल्याणसंयोगाय च भवन्तु इत्याशंसावाक्यार्थः । शनिरनेन पूर्वं ग्रहत्वेऽभिषिक्त इति तन्मन्त्रोऽयम् । देवीरिति "वाछन्दसि" इति पूर्वसवर्णः । अभिष्टये इति 'ष्ट्यै-स्त्यै शब्दसङ्घातयोः' अभिपूर्वः क्विप् । 'स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य' इति योगविभागात् सम्प्रसारणम्, तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी । शंयोः इति शंशब्दात् 'कंशंभ्याम्' इत्यादिना युस् । चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी ॥

इत्यस्य पदस्य छान्दसत्वादकारतकारयोर्लोपे सति महे इति भवति । रमणीयायेत्यस्य मकार-ईकार-यकाराणां लोपाद्रणायेति भवति । आपो हि ष्ठा इत्याकारः संहितायां पठ्यमानः पदे इति पठ्यमानत्वात् न व्याकृतः ॥

p. 24. a: **विष्णुः** भगवान् **इदं** जगत् **विचक्रमे** विक्रान्तवानाक्रान्तवानित्यर्थः । कथमाक्रान्तवान् । **त्रेधा** त्रिः प्रकारं **पदं निदधे** निहितवान् । पृथिव्यामाकाशे स्वर्गे च पदत्रयमर्पितवानित्यर्थः । **अस्य** विष्णोस्तत्पदं **पांसुरे समूढं** पांसुरे पांसुयुक्ते अर्थवशात् पृथिव्यामित्यर्थः । **समूढं** सम्यङ्निविष्टम् । अयमत्र वाक्यार्थः । विष्णुर्भूम्याकाशस्वर्गात्मकं जगत् पदेन विक्रान्तवान् । तस्य पदं भूम्यां सम्यक् संबद्धम् । एतेन विष्णुपादसम्बन्धेन । भूमिरतीव शुद्धेति भूमेः स्तुतिः ॥

p. 25. b: **हे आपः नो**ऽस्माकं **शं** कल्याण्यो भवन्तु । किम्भूताः । देवीः । देव्यः स्तुत्यादिविषयाः । किमर्थम् । **अभिष्टये** उपचयार्थम् **पीतये** पानाय । किं च **नः अभिस्रवन्तु** अस्मदभिमुखं स्रवन्तु । किमर्थम् । **शंयोः** कल्याणसंयोगाय । अयं वाक्यार्थः । आपोऽस्माकम् उपचयाय पानाय कल्याणसंयोगाय च भवन्तु इत्याशंसा । तत्र देवीरिति प्रथमाबहुवचने 'वा छन्दसि' इति विकल्पेन पूर्वसवर्णादेशः । अभिष्टय इति 'ष्ट्यै स्त्यै शब्दसंघातयोः' इति अस्माद्धातोः 'अभिपूर्वात् क्विपि कृते 'आदे च उपदेशेऽशिति' इत्यात्वम् । 'स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य' इति योगविभागात् सम्प्रसारणम् । तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी ।

शंयोरिति शंशब्दात् 'कंशंभ्यां बभयुस्तितुतयसः' इति मत्वर्थीययुस्प्रत्यये कृते शंयुरिति पदम्। ततः 'बहुलं छन्दसि' इति चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठ्येकवचनम् । यदा तु शनैश्चरपूजायामस्य विनियोगस्तदा अभिष्टये अपेक्षितफलावाप्तये । यदा श्राद्धे तदा पीतये पितॄणां पानायेति विशेषो बोद्धव्यः ॥

5. 12: एताः तिस्रः अनुष्टुभः अघमर्षणर्षिदृष्टाः भाववृत्तदैवताः अश्वमेधावभृथे विनियुक्ताः । **ऋतं सत्यम्** इति परं ब्रह्म उच्यते । तथ च श्रुतिः—'ऋतमेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म' 'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म' इति । आसीत् इत्यध्याहार्यम् । तदयमर्थः—ऋतं च सत्यं च आसीत् परब्रह्ममात्रमासीत् । एतेन महाप्रलयावस्था प्रतिपादिता । महाप्रलयसमये केवलं ब्रह्ममात्रमासीत् इत्यर्थः । **ततः** महाप्रलयावस्थायामेव **रात्र्यजायत** रात्रिः समुत्पन्ना । सकलम् अन्धकारमयमासीदित्यर्थः । तथा च स्मृतिः—'आसीदिदं तमोभूतमप्रज्ञातमलक्षणम्' इति । ततः प्रलयावसाने सृष्ट्यारम्भसमये **तपसः** अदृष्टबलात् **समुद्रः** अध्यजायत । किम्भूतः । **अर्णवः** पानीययुक्तः, सकलजगदुत्पत्तिनिमित्तं जलराशिः उत्पन्न इत्यर्थः । तथा च स्मृतिः—'अप एव ससर्जादौ तासु बीजमवासृजत्' इति । किम्भूतात्तपसः । **अभीद्धात्** । अभि सर्वतोभावेन समृद्धात् लब्धवृत्तेः । प्रलयसमये निरुद्धवृत्ति अदृष्टं भवति ॥

p. 27. b: अत्र अघमर्षणर्षिर्भाववृत्तो देवतानुष्टुप् छन्दः । अश्वमेधावभृथे विनियोगः । अस्य अघमर्षणमन्त्रस्य व्याख्यायां हृदि प्रकम्पो जायते । यतः सर्ववेदसारभूतोऽत्यन्तगुप्तश्चायं मन्त्रः । अस्य पदपाठमात्रं च नास्ति । ब्राह्मणनिरुक्तादिकमप्यस्य नास्ति । इत्थमेतदीयव्याख्यानुगुणं कमप्युपायमप्राप्य यदेतस्य स्वकपोलमात्रेण व्याख्यानमाचरणीयं तदतिसाहसम् । योगियाज्ञवल्क्यने तु—'तत्त्वभूताश्च पिण्डस्थित्युत्पत्तिप्रलयं तथा । सूक्तेऽस्मिन् व्याहृतमेतत्तत्त्वमन्त्रार्थ एष वै॥' इति वचनात् सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयार्थतास्य प्रतिपादिता । पुराणमहाभारतादिष्वपि तु सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयप्रतिपादकार्थकग्रन्थभागाः समासते । तेषां च श्रवणेनोत्कीर्तनेन महाफललाभः प्रतिपादितः । तदेतत् सकलं वेदसारभूतस्य सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयप्रतिपादकाघमर्षणमन्त्रस्य । स्नानादिना तत्र प्राग्लिखितं नानामुनिवचनप्रतिपादितं फलभूयस्त्वमुपपन्नमेव । किं चास्मिन् ग्रन्थे सकलकर्मकाण्डोचितमन्त्रव्याख्यानस्यैव मुख्यत्वात् यद्यस्य सारभूतमन्त्रस्यैव व्याख्यानं न क्रियते तदास्य ग्रन्थस्य साङ्गता न भवेदित्येतादृशदोषभयमात्रेण स्वप्रतिभानुरूपम् एतन्मन्त्रव्याख्यानमेतत्

क्रियते । यथा । **ऋतं च सत्यं** चेति परमं ब्रह्म उच्यते । तथा च श्रुतिः स्मृतिश्च । 'ऋतमेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म' 'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म' इति । अत्रासीदित्यध्याहार्यम् । तेनायमर्थः । ऋतं च सत्यं च परं ब्रह्म आसीत् । एतेन महाप्रलयावस्था प्रतिपादिता । महाप्रलयसमये केवलं परं ब्रह्ममात्रमासीदित्यर्थः । **ततः** तदनन्तरं महाप्रलयावस्थायामेव **रात्रिरजायत** रात्रिः समुत्पन्ना सकलमन्धकारमयमासीदित्यर्थः । तथा च स्मृतिः— 'आसीदिदं तमोभूतमप्रज्ञातमलक्षणम्' इति । ततस्तदनन्तरं महाप्रलयावसाने सृष्ट्यारम्भसमये **तपसः** अदृष्टात् । किम्भूतात् । **अभीद्धात्** सर्वतोभावेन दीप्तत्वात् सर्वतोगतवृत्तिलब्धादित्यर्थः । एवं भूताददृष्टात् पुनः **समुद्रो** अजायत । किम्भूतः समुद्रः । **अर्णवः** अर्णः पानीयं तदस्यास्तीति अर्णवः पानीययुक्तः समुद्रः संजात इत्यर्थः । प्रथमतः सकलसृष्टिनिमित्तं जलराशिरुत्पन्न इत्यर्थः । तथा च स्मृतिः 'अप एव ससर्जादौ तासु वीर्यमवासृजत्' इति ॥

These examples make it plain that here too there can be no question of accident, but that one of the two authors, Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu, has borrowed from the other.

Prof. Bhattacharya, relying on the abovementioned tradition that Guṇaviṣṇu flourished in the reigns of Ballālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena, opines that Guṇaviṣṇu was earlier and that Halāyudha borrowed from him. Halāyudha's preliminary observations, however, cited in the fourth example given above, show clearly that his explanation of the mantra *ṛtaṃ ca satyaṃ ca*...is quite original, and that he had nothing at hand that could serve to guide him to its meaning except the śloka from Yogi-yājñavalkya cited by him. Since this explanation of Halāyudha is found in Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* also, it

follows that Guṇaviṣṇu has borrowed from Halāyudha the explanation of that mantra, and likewise of the hundred and odd mantras referred to above.[1] That is to say, it becomes clear that any connection which Guṇaviṣṇu may have had with the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena must have been subsequent to the time when Halāyudha wrote his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*.

It must be mentioned here that Prof. Bhattacharyya seems to think that the preliminary observations referred to above of Halāyudha are mere claptrap, and that though he made use of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu, he did not, 'for some reason or other, acknowledge his indebtedness'. This latter, however, is not a correct statement; not only has Halāyudha not acknowledged any indebtedness to Guṇaviṣṇu, but he has definitely claimed that his explanation of the verse *ṛtaṃ ca satyaṃ ca*...is quite original, and that he is putting it forward with considerable diffidence. There are no grounds to brush aside all these definite statements as untruthful; at least, Prof. Bhattacharya has not advanced any, and, to my mind, it seems very improbable that a person like Halāyudha, who

1. This is made plain, moreover, by Guṇaviṣṇu's commentary on the verse *śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaye*.. (Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya 2, 16). The second pāda of this verse reads as *āpo bhavantu pītaye* in the VS, and hence in Halāyudha's *Brāhmṇa-sarvasva* also; and his explanation beginning with *he āpaḥ* is therefore, quite natural and unexceptionable. On the other hand, in the *Sāmaveda-saṃhitā* and hence in Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*, this pāda reads as *śaṃ no bhavantu pītaye*. As the word *āpaḥ* is thus lacking in this reading, it is necessary for the commentator to point out in some manner that the verse is addressed to the Waters. Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation contains no observation regarding this matter; he has not even mentioned, as is usual with him, the *chandas*, *devatā* and *viniyoga* of the mantra but begins his explanation with the word *āpaḥ*. This abrupt beginning which is apt to bewilder the reader is shown, by a comparison with Halāyudha's explanation, to be merely a blind copy of it.

On instituting such a comparison, one will find that there is nothing in the commentary of Guṇaviṣṇu to indicate that the mantra he is explaining reads *śaṃ no bhavantu pītaye* and not *āpo bhavantu pītaye* in pāda b; and this fact too shows plainly that Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation is borrowed and that of Halāyuddha, original. Contrast in this connection the *Sāmaveda-saṃhitā-bhāṣya* of Sāyaṇa on this mantra (I, 1, 3, 13), where he has duly explained the words *śaṃ naḥ* that occur in pāda b.

held the position of Mahādharmādhyakṣa in the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena, could utter untruths. Further, in stanzas 20, 21 of his introduction:

आसन् वा कति सन्ति वा कति कति क्ष्मामण्डले पण्डिता
व्याख्याता मतिशालिनाथ मुगुडाचार्येण वेदाः परम् ।
स्पष्टं तत्तदपीत्यनेन विदुषा विश्वप्रसिद्धैः पदैः
सन्ध्यादिद्विजकर्ममन्त्रवचसो व्याख्यानमेतत् कृतम् ॥
आस्ते वाक्पतिसन्निभोऽपि न पुमांस्तस्मात् परः साहसी
यो वेदार्थविवेचनाय कुरुते सज्जं रसज्ञाननम् ।
किं त्वस्मिन् मुगुडेन वर्त्म रचितं प्रागेव चेद्विद्यते
व्याख्यानं कियदेकवेदवचसां तेनेदमारभ्यते ॥

we find Halāyudha acknowledging his indebtedness to Muguḍa's commentary on the Veda (*i. e.*, the White Yajurveda), and there is no reason to doubt that, in case he had made use of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu, in connection with more than a hundred mantras, he would likewise have acknowledged his indebtedness to that author. Prof. Bhattacharya, it seems to me, has allowed himself to be influenced too much by the belief that the above-mentioned tradition is true, and has, therefore, failed to estimate justly the value of the preliminary observations referred to above.

i. It is not legitimate to infer from the passage cited above by Prof. Bhattacharya from the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* that Halāyudha is there referring to Guṇaviṣṇu. This passage, in the first place, is not found in the Benares edition of that work, and there is therefore reason to doubt its genuineness. Assuming, however, that it was written by Halāyudha, the reference there is, clearly, to other authors that had written *paddhatis* on the *gṛhya* ceremonies of White Yajurvedins. For, the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* is (though this is not mentioned by Halāyudha) intended for the use of White Yajurvedins, as becomes evident from the sūtras of Pāraskara and the mantras that ar cited in it; and the epithet *kaiś cit* used by Halāyudha in it refers naturally to other writers on the same subject, that is, to other writers belonging to the school of Pāraskara.[1] It is not

1. This is recognised by Prof. Bhattacharya also; see p. ix of his Introduction.

The mantra ऋतं च सत्यं च does not occur in the VS, Śata. Br., or the Nirukta; and Halāyudha's complaint that the commentaries

proper to refer the epithet to writers on *gṛhya* ceremonies who, like Guṇaviṣṇu, belong to other schools like that of Āśvalāyana (Ṛgveda), Gobhila (Sāmaveda) or Āpastamba (Black Yajurveda). The mantra in question is not mentioned in the section on *garbhādhāna* by Śiṅgaṇārya, Boppaṇa-bhaṭṭa and other writers of comparatively recent times on *gṛhya* ceremonies belonging to the school of Āpastamba, and if one were to employ Prof. Bhattacharya's argument in their case, one would have to infer that all these writers lived before about 1200 A. D.!

ii. The passage cited by Prof. Bhattacharya from the *Sāmaga-mantra-vyākhyāna* is corrupt. It *speaks* of the reading *chāndasaḥ aster ādi-lopaḥ* being found in Guṇaviṣṇu's work and not being found in Halāyudha's work, while it is evident that what Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati has in his mind is the fact that there is a difference in the reading of the mantra,[1] between Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha,[2] Guṇaviṣṇu reading the verb with

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on these texts could give no help to him in the interpretation of that mantra, is well-founded. Similarly his statement too that there is no pada-pāṭha on it is correct as Śākalya, in his padapāṭha of the Ṛk-saṃhitā has not given the *pada-pāṭha* of that hymn. The RV. commentaries of Skandasvāmin or Udgītha on the Tenth Maṇḍala (at the end of which this hymn occurs) were, apparently unknown or inaccessible to Halāyudha.

1. This is shown by the use of the word *śiṣṭa*. What śiṣṭas care for is not the reading of explanatory comments on mantras, but the reading of the mantras themselves.

2. That is, between the *Mantra-pāṭha* commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*. It must always be borne in mind that the *Mantra-pāṭha* on which Guṇaviṣṇu has written a commentary was not compiled by him, but came into existence long before and was held in great repute at his time; see p. xvii of the above-mentioned introduction of Prof. Bhattacharya, who has also pointed out on p. xix that there existed, in fact, not one but many different *mantra-pāṭhas* for the use of Sāmavedins. If therefore, one wanted to refer to the particular reading of a mantra found in the *mantra-pāṭha* commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu, the most convenient way of doing so would be by using the words *Guṇaviṣṇu-pustaka-dhṛtaḥ pāṭhaḥ*, *Guṇaviṣṇunā ādṛtaḥ pāṭhaḥ* or other similar words. The use therefore, by Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati of the words *kvacit tu Guṇaviṣṇu-pustake..pāṭhaḥ na tu Halāyudhādi-śiṣṭa-parigṛhītaḥ* should not,

elision of the initial *a*, and Halāyudha without such elision. And hence, it is not right, it seems to me, to base any conclusions on this passage. Prof. Bhattacharya, it will be noted, does not tell us in connection with what mantra this observation is made by Rāmanātha, and how that mantra is read by Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha; and one wonders if this is due to other corruptions or inconsistencies contained in that passage. I may mention here that I have made a diligent search in the published edition of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* and have failed to discover in it the passage *chāndasaḥ aster ādi-lopaḥ* cited by Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati. Further, even if one grants that this writer believed that Halāyudha was later than Guṇaviṣṇu, that is no reason why we should not use our own judgment in the matter, but blindly follow him in that opinion.

(4) Prof. Bhattachārya's opinion that Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*, implicitly refers to Guṇaviṣṇu by the words *ke cit* is likewise erroneous. The commentator referred to by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on 1, 2, 18 of that work interprets the expression *adurmaṅgalīḥ* as *maṅgalavatyo yoṣitaḥ prāduḥ*; Guṇaviṣṇu, on the other hand, though he splits up that word into two, *aduḥ* and *maṅgalīḥ*, explains the latter as *maṅgalavatyo* devatāḥ; and it is thus clear that he is not the commentator referred to by Sāyaṇa. This is shown by the following instance also. Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on 2, 6, 13-14 of the above-mentioned work (=Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha, 4, 29-30]: *annaṃ vā eka-cchandasyam...*, which two mantras are, according to him, *annadevatāka*, refers to the explanation of others in the following words: *ke cana anayor ādityo'pi devateti bruvate | tasmin pakṣe ekacchandasyam ity asyāyam arthaḥ | ekas tejasā ācchādaka ekacchandās tatra bhavam eka-cchandasyam annam iti| tathā dvitīya-mantre virocana-śabdena rocamāna āditya ucyate śiṣṭaṃ samānam.* According to Guṇaviṣṇu, the devatās of these two mantras are respectively Āditya and Virocana, and not *anna* and *Āditya*; and this too shows clearly that the commentator referred to as *ke cit* by Sāyaṇa is not Guṇaviṣṇu but some other writer.

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even when one assumes that he is speaking of chronological sequence, be taken to indicate that he believed that Guṇaviṣṇu was earlier than Halāyudha, but that, in his belief, the *mantra-pāṭha* commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu was anterior to Halāyudha.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that the reasons advanced by Prof. Bhattacharya in support of his opinion that Guṇaviṣṇu was anterior to Sāyaṇa are all unsatisfactory and fail to establish that point; and the problem, did Sāyaṇa borrow his explanations from Guṇaviṣṇu or *vice versa*, remains still unsolved.

In order to find a solution, let us first take stock of the facts known to us in connection with these two writers. (i) Guṇaviṣṇu, we know, is mentioned by the Bengali writer Raghunandana who lived in the sixteenth century A. D. (see Prof. Bhattacharya's *Introduction*, p. xviii), and is, as shown above, posterior to Halāyudha who lived during the reign of King Lakṣmaṇasena. He lived, therefore, roughly speaking, between 1200 and 1500 A. D. (ii) He has written commentaries on the collections of mantras known as *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* and *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*, that is to say, on about 500 mantras; and (iii) he has borrowed from Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* the explanations of more than a hundred mantras without even once mentioning Halāyudha's name.

II (i) Of Sāyaṇa, we know that he was the minister of Bukka I, Harihara I, and other Vijayanagara kings who ruled in the 14th century A. D.; and he is believed to have died in about 1386 A. D. (ii) He is the author of commentaries on many Vedic texts including the *Ṛgveda-saṃhitā*, *Sāmaveda-saṃhitā*, *Atharva-veda-saṃhitā*[1], the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*, the *Vājasaneya-saṃhitā* and *Śātapatha-brāhmaṇa* of the Kāṇva recension, the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda, the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*, and of other works also. Of the Vedic texts, those belonging to the Yajurveda were first explained by him, and then, in order, those belonging to the Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda. I cite here the explanations of two mantras, *idaṃ viṣṇur vi cakrame*...and *āpo hi ṣṭhā mayobhuvaḥ*...given by Sāyaṇa in these commentaries and also those given by other commentators earlier than and known to Sāyaṇa in their works:

1. There is room for serious doubt if the commentary on the Atharvaveda-saṃhitā was written by Sāyaṇa; see Lanman's introduction to Whitney's *Translation of the Atharvaveda*, p. xviii, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 7.

(*a*) इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा नि दधे पदम् ।
समूढ(ळ्ह)मस्य पांसुरे ॥

Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on Ts. 1, 2, 13, 1: इदं विश्वं विष्णुः व्यापी भगवान् विचक्रमे विभज्य क्रमते स्म । 'वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः' इति वृत्तावात्मनेपदम् । 'वेः पादविहरणे' इति वा । कतिधा विचक्रम इत्यत आह—त्रेधा त्रिधा पदं पादं निदधे स्थापयामास पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवि चेत्याधारभेदेन पदस्य त्रैविध्यम् । त्रीणि पदानीति यावत् । यथा 'त्रीणि पदा विचक्रमे' इति । 'एधाच्च' इत्येधाप्रत्ययः । यस्मादेवं तस्मात् अस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे पांसुमति पादे । रः मत्वर्थीयः । यद्वा, सिध्मादिलक्षणो लः । रलयोरेकत्वं स्मर्यते । पांसवो रजांसि लोका उच्यन्ते । तैः रजःकणकल्पैः तद्वति विष्णोः पदकमले समूढं सम्यग्गूढं तेनैव समवस्थापितम् । किम् ? इदं विश्वं यद्विचक्रमे । 'गतिरनन्तरः' इति गतेः प्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । अस्येति 'इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्तः' इत्यशादेशोऽनुदात्तः । य इममर्थमकरोत् स विष्णुरनेन होमेनेमं यज्ञं समापयत्विति भावः । अपरा योजना—इदं विष्णुरेव स्वयं विचक्रमे विक्रमते यद्धविर्धानं विक्रमते गच्छति । 'छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः' इति लिट् । विष्णोरेवेदं क्रमणं यद्धविर्धानस्येति यावत् । विष्णुर्विशेष्यते । त्रेधा निदधे पदं तस्मात् अस्य हविर्धानस्य पांसुरे पांसुमति च मार्गे समूढं सम्यग्गूढं प्रापितमिदमाज्यमस्त्विति । अन्ये पुनराहुः—इदं विश्वं विष्णुः व्यापी आदित्यात्मा विचक्रमे विक्रमते विभज्य प्राप्नोति त्रेधा पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवि च पदं निदधाति अग्निविद्युत्सूर्यात्मना त्रिषु स्थानेषु पादन्यासं करोति । अस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे त्वन्तरिक्षे यत्पदं विद्युद्रूपं तदेव समूढं सम्मूढं कारणानित्यत्वात् सर्वदा न दृश्यते यथेतरे ज्योतिषी सम्यग्गृह्येते दृष्ट्या । सोऽयमादित्य इदं यज्ञमनेन होमेन समापयत्विति ॥

Uvaṭa on Vs. 5, 15: इदं विष्णुः । गायत्री वैष्णवी । इदं जगत् विष्णुर्विचक्रमे विक्रान्तवान् । सर्वप्राणिनो हि भूतेन्द्रिय-मनोजीवभावेनाविशतीति विष्णुः । किं च । त्रेधा निदधे पदम् । पद्यते ज्ञायतेऽनेनेति पदम् । भूम्यन्तरिक्षद्युलोकेषु अग्निवायुसूर्यरूपेण त्रिधा निहितवान् पदम् । किं च समूढमस्य पांसुरे । अस्यैव विष्णोरन्यत् पदान्तरं विज्ञानघनानन्दमजमद्वैतमक्षरमित्येवंलक्षणं समूढम् अन्तर्हितमविज्ञातमकृतात्मभिः । पांसुरे । लुप्तोपममेतत् । पांसुल इव प्रदेशे निहितं न दृश्यते, तत्समूढ-

मिति द्रष्टव्यमिति वाक्यशेषः । तदुक्तम्—'तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः । दिवीव चक्षुराततम्' इति ॥

Skandasvāmin on RV. 1, 22, 17: विष्णुस्तु भगवानस्मद्भर्ता वासुदेवः । स वामनच्छद्मना महाबलिं बबन्ध । तत्काले प्रपञ्चं विक्रान्तः त्रिस्थानभेदेन निहितवान् । पदमात्मीयं पादं त्रिषु स्थानेषु कृतवान् । भुवि खे दिवि च इत्येके । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसि इत्यन्ये । निर्गुणस्य परब्रह्मणो गुणवर्णने विभ्रमन्ति लोकाः । न तच्चित्रम् । तच्च त्रिविधं [समूढं] सम्यक् ऊढं सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठापितम् अस्य विष्णोः पदं [पांसुरे] पांसुमतीव । पांसवो यस्मिन् सन्तीति मतुपि रप्रत्ययः । लुप्तोपमं च । यथा पांसुमति देशे सुप्रतिष्ठापितं तद्वत् । अस्य स्वीयं वा पांसुः । पृथिवी वा समारोहणं वा । तत्र यत् पदं विष्णोरस्मद्भर्तुः तत् समूढम् । विष्णुरादित्यो वा । इदं सर्वम् अहरहर्विचक्रमे । त्रेधा उदयगिरौ नभोमध्ये चास्तगिरौ च त्रिविधं सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठापितम् अस्य पदं पांसुरप्रदेशे इति । केचित्तु सम्पूर्वस्य महे रूपमिति । समूढं छन्नम्, न दृश्यते । विष्णुरेव आदित्यरूपेण लोकान् प्रकाशयति । तस्य त्रैविध्यं अन्यथा वा । अग्निवैद्युतादित्यात्मना भुवि खे दिवि । एकमेवेदं ज्योतिस्त्रेधा विभक्तम् इति मूर्धन्वान् वक्ष्यति तत् । 'तमू अकृण्वन् त्रेधा' (RV. 10, 88, 10) इति । । तत्र यत् खे वैद्युतस्य पदं तच्छन्नं नित्यं न दृश्यते ॥

Sāyaṇa on TS. 1, 2, 13, 1: विष्णुस्त्रिविक्रमावतारं धृत्वा इदं विश्वं विभज्य क्रमते स्म । भूमावेकं पदम्, अन्तरिक्षे द्वितीयम्, दिवि तृतीयमित्येवं त्रेधा पदं निदधे । पांसवो भूम्यादिलोकरूपा यस्य पदस्य सन्ति तत् पांसुरम् । अस्य विष्णोस्तस्मिन् पदे विश्वं समूढं सम्यगन्तर्भूतम् ॥

Sāyaṇa's commentary on VS (Kāṇva-śākhā) 5, 15: Identical with his explanation (above given) of TS. 1, 2, 13, 1.

Sāyaṇa on Śata. Br. (Kāṇva- śākhā.) 3, 5, 3, 13; इदं विश्वं विष्णुः त्रिविक्रमावतारधारी विचक्रमे विक्रान्तवान् । विक्रमणप्रकारमाह—त्रेधा त्रिप्रकारेण । त्रिषु स्थानेषु क्षित्यादिषु पदं निदधे स्थापितवान् । अस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे रजोयुक्ते पदे लोकत्रयं समूढं गृहीतं सम्मितमासीदित्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 22. 17: विष्णुस्त्रिविक्रमावतारधारी इदं प्रतीयमानं सर्वं जगदुद्दिश्य विचक्रमे । विशेषेण क्रमणं कृतवान् । तदा त्रेधा त्रिभिः प्रकारैः पदं निदधे । स्वकीयं पादं प्रक्षिप्तवान् । अस्य

विष्णोः पांसुरे धूलियुक्ते पादस्थाने समूढमिदं सर्वं जगत् सम्यगन्तर्भूतम् । सेयमृक् यास्केनैवं व्याख्याता । विष्णुर्विशतेर्वा व्यश्नोतेर्वा । यदिदं किं च तद्विक्रमते विष्णुस्त्रेधा निधत्ते पदं त्रेधाभावाय पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसीत्यौर्णवाभः । समूळ्हमस्य पांसुरेऽप्यायनेऽन्तरिक्षे पदं न दृश्यतेऽपि वोपमार्थे स्यात् समूळ्हमस्य पांसुर इव पदं न दृश्यत इति पांसवः पादैः सूयन्त इति वा पन्नाः शेरत इति वा पंसनीया भवन्तीति वा । इति । त्रेधा । 'एधाच्च' इत्येधाच्प्रत्ययः । चितोऽन्तोदात्तः । समूळ्हम् । वह प्रापणे । निष्ठेतिक्तः । 'चक्षिस्वपि' इत्यादिना सम्प्रसारणम् । ढत्वधत्वष्टुत्वढलोपदीर्घत्वानि । 'गतिरनन्तरः' इति गतेः प्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । अस्य । 'इदमोऽन्वादेशे' इत्यशनुदात्तः । प्रत्ययश्च सुप्स्वरेण । पांसुरे । 'नगपांसुपाण्डुभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम्' इति मत्वर्थीयो रप्रत्ययः । प्रत्ययस्वरः ॥

Sāyaṇa's commentary on SV. I, 2, 11. 9: Identical with his above-given explanation of RV. 1, 22, 17, but does not contain the matter beginning with त्रेधा । 'एधाच्च' इत्येधाच्—प्रत्ययः.

Sāyaṇa's commentary on SV. II. 8, 2, 5, 1. Identical with his explanation of SV I, 2, 11, 9.

Sāyaṇa on AV. 7, 26, 4: विष्णुर्व्यापी भगवान् इदं विश्वं विचक्रमे विक्रान्तवान् । कतिधा विचक्रमे इति तदाह—त्रेधा पदा पदानि निदधे स्थापयामास । 'पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवि च विष्णुर्वामनो भूत्वेमाँल्लोकांस्त्रिभिः क्रमैरभ्यजयत्' इति श्रुतेः । अस्य विक्रममाणस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे पांसुमति । रो मत्वर्थीयः । पादे लोकत्रयं समूढं सम्यग् ऊढं समवस्थापितं समाकृष्टं वा अभवत् । अत्र 'विष्णुर्विशतेर्वा अश्नोतेर्वा । यदिदं किं च तद्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदं पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः' इत्यादिनिरुक्तमनुसन्धेयम् ॥

b. आपो हि ष्ठा मयोभुवस्ता न ऊर्जे दधातन ।
महे रणाय चक्षसे ॥

In respect of this mantra, Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara's explanation on TS. 4, 1, 5, 1 is not available as his commentary on Kāṇḍa IV of the Taittirīya-saṃhitā is not published; likewise Skandasvāmin's explanation too on RV. 10, 9, 1, as his commentary on that Maṇḍala of the RV. is not yet published. Further, not having at hand the printed edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary on VS

(Kāṇva reconsion.) Ch. 11—20, I have not reproduced here his explanation of VS. 11, 50.

Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on TS. 5, 6, 1, 4: आपो हि ष्ठाद्यस्तिस्रः 'विपाजसा' इत्यत्र (TV. 4, 1, 5) व्याख्याताः । आपः व्यापिकाः स्थ मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयित्र्यः ताः यूयं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे रसाय दधातन स्थापयत ऊर्जं वा अस्मभ्यं दत्त महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे ज्ञानाय च ॥

Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on TV. 7, 4, 19, 4: एताश्चतस्रः 'विपाजसा' इत्यत्र व्याख्याताः । हे आपः यूयं आपो व्यापिकाः स्थ । मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयित्र्यः ता यूयम् ऊर्जे अन्नार्थं रसार्थं वा दधातन धारयत । महते रमणीयाय दर्शनीयाय ॥

Uvaṭa on VV. 11, 50: अब्देवत्यास्तिस्रो गायत्र्यः । आपो हि ष्ठा मयोभुवः । द्वितीये पादे तच्छब्दश्रवणाद्यदोऽध्याहारः कर्तव्यः । हे आपः या यूयं मयोभुवः । मय इति सुखनाम । सुखस्य भावयित्र्यः स्थ भवथ सर्वप्राणिनाम् । छन्दःपरिपूर्तिकरो हिशब्दः । ता नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अन्नाय दधातन स्थापयत । यथा वयं सर्वस्य भोग्यस्य भोक्तारो भवेम तथा कुरुतेत्यभिप्रायः । महते च रणाय रमणीयाय । चक्षसे दर्शनाय । अस्मान् दधातनेत्यनुवर्तते । एतदुक्तं भवति । महच्च यद्दर्शनं परब्रह्मलक्षणं रमणीयं तदस्माकं कुरुतेति । अथवा हिशब्दो यस्मादर्थे कृत्वा व्याख्यायते । न हि वेदे मन्त्रमात्रस्याप्यानर्थक्यमिष्यते सम्भवे सति । आपो हि । हे आपः हि यस्मान्मयोभुवः । ता न ऊर्जे । ताः शब्दस्य पञ्चम्यां संनतिः । तस्माद्धेतोरस्मान् अन्नाय स्थापयत । महते च रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनीयाय ॥

Haradatta on Āpastamba mantra-pāṭha 2. 7. 13: अपो हि ष्ठेति । हे आपः यूयं मयोभुवः स्थ मय इति सुखनाम सुखस्य भावयित्र्यः स्थ । हिः प्रसिद्धौ । ता यूयं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अन्नाय दधातन धत्त अन्नमस्मभ्यं धत्तेत्यर्थः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय दधातन ॥

Sāyaṇa on TS. 4, 1, 5,1: हिशब्द एवकारार्थः प्रसिद्ध्यर्थो वा । हे आपः यूयमेव मयोभुवः स्थ सुखस्य भावयित्र्यो भवत । स्नानपानादिहेतुत्वेन सुखोत्पादकत्वं प्रसिद्धम् । तास्तादृश्यो यूयं नोऽस्मानूर्जे रसाय भवदीयरसानुभवार्थं दधातन स्थापयत । किं च महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय दधातन अस्मान् परतत्त्वसाक्षात्कारयोग्यान् कुरुतेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa's commentary on TS. 5, 6, 1, 4 ; TS. 7, 4, 19, 4, and TA. 4, 42, 4. } Identical with his explanation given above on TS. 4, 1, 5, 1.

Sāyaṇa on Śata. Br. 6, 5, 1, 2 : हे आपः आप्यते सर्वं कार्यं प्राणिनां याभिरित्यापः । आप्नोतेः करणे कर्तरि वा क्विप् । तत्संबोधनम् । मयोभुवः । मय इति सुखनाम । सुखस्य भावयित्र्यः । स्थ । हि यस्मात्ता एवंभूता यूयं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अन्नाद्याय दधातन स्थापयत । 'तप्तनप्तनथनाश्च' इति तस्य तनबादेशः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय ज्ञानाय धत्तेति ॥

Sāyaṇa on RV. 10, 9, 1 : हि यस्मात् कारणादापो या यूयं मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयित्र्यः स्थ भवथ तास्तादृश्यो यूयं नोऽस्मानूर्जे अन्नाय दधातन धत्त । अन्नप्राप्तियोग्यानस्मान् कुरुत , अन्नमस्मभ्यं दत्तेत्यर्थः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय सम्यग्ज्ञानाय च धत्त । अस्मान् सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रति योग्यान् कुरुतेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on SV. II, 9, 3, 10, 1 : हि यस्मात् कारणात् आपः या यूयं मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयित्र्यः स्थ भवथ ताः तादृश्यो यूयं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अन्नाय दधातन धत्त । अन्नप्राप्तियोग्यान् अस्मान् कुरुत । अन्नमस्मभ्यं दत्तेत्यर्थः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षसे दर्शनाय सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रति योग्यान् कुरुतेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on AV. 1, 5, 1 : हे आपः यूयं हि यस्मात् कारणात् मयोभुवः । मय इति सुखनाम । सुखस्य भावयित्र्यः स्थ भवथ । 'आपोमयः प्राणः' इति श्रुतेः । अपामुपभोगेन प्राणस्थैर्यहेतुत्वात् सुखसाधनभूतविविधान्नाद्युपभोग्यपदार्थजनकत्वेन च सुखहेतुत्वात् । अस्तेर्लटि मध्यमपुरुषबहुवचने अदादित्वात् शपो लुक् । 'सार्वधातुकमपित्' इति ङिद्वद्भावात् 'श्नसोरल्लोपः' इति अकारलोपः । 'हि च' इति निघातप्रतिषेधः । मयोभुव इति । मयश्शब्दोपपदात् भवतेरन्तर्भावितण्यर्थात् क्विप् । 'ओः सुपि' इति प्राप्तस्य यणः 'न भूसुधियोः' इति प्रतिषेधः । 'गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत्' इति कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । तस्मात्ताः तथाविधाः यूयं नः अस्मान् अन्नादिजनितसुखकामान् ऊर्जे बलकराय अन्नाय तदुपभोगजनितसुखायेत्यर्थः । ...दधातन धत्त । सुखकरान्नप्रदानेन अस्मान् पोषयतेत्यर्थः । —अपि च महे महते । अच्छब्दलोपः छान्दसः । यद्वा । मह पूजायामित्यस्मात् क्विप् । महनीयाय पूजनीयाय रणाय रमणाय विविधोपभोग्यपदार्थेषु क्रीडनायेत्यर्थः । रमतेर्भावे ल्युट् । अन्त्यलोपः छान्दसः । तथा चक्षसे दर्शनाय । चिरकालजीवनाभिमतसाक्षात्कारायेत्यर्थः ।...यद्वा । महते

रणाय रणनीयाय शब्दनीयाय उपनिषदेकसमधिगम्याय चक्षसे स्वात्मनो निरतिशयानन्दब्रह्मत्वसाक्षात्कारायेत्यर्थः ।...दधातनेति पूर्वेण संबन्धः ॥

It is evident from these passages that, in respect of the two mantras given above, none of the explanations of Sāyaṇa is identical with those of any of the earlier commentators mentioned above; and comparison shows that this observation holds good of all the other mantras in Aṣṭaka I of the Ṛgveda (on which we have the commentary of Skandasvāmin), in chapters 1-10 of the Vājasaneya-saṃhitā (on which we have the commentary of Uvaṭa), and in the Saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka of the Taittirīyas[1] (on which we have the commentary of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara). The total bulk of the mantras contained in these is, I compute, more than twenty-five times that of the mantras commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu.

The facts set forth above may be summed up as follows: Guṇaviṣṇu has written a commentary on about 500 mantras, and, in the case of about a fifth of them, has borrowed *in toto* the explanations given by Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* without however, acknowledging his indebtedness, while Sāyaṇa who has written commentaries on Vedic mantras that, in bulk, exceed by more than twenty-five times that of the matter commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu, has not, even in a single instance borrowed his explanations from any of the commentators whom we know to have been anterior to him. Not only that; Sāyaṇa has, in respect of innumerable mantras, disdained to make use of his own earlier explanation and taken the trouble to indite new ones.

It hence becomes obvious that Sāyaṇa's above-cited explanations of *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa* 2, 4, 2-4 cannot have

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1. As already observed above, the edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary on Chaps. 11-20 of the VS. was not accessible to me.

On Kāṇḍa IV of the TS, Aṣṭaka II of the TBr. and on two prapāṭhakas of the TA, the commentary of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara is not yet published.

Further, I must also mention that the comparison I have made of the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on the Taittirīya texts is not so minute as that I have made between his commentaries on the other two above-named texts and those of Uvaṭa and Skandasvāmin.

been borrowed by him, but are original; and since these explanations are found in Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra bhāṣya*, it follows that they must have been borrowed by Guṇaviṣṇu from Sāyaṇa.

This becomes evident, other considerations apart, from a comparison of Sāyaṇa's and Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation of these mantras; and in this connection, it must be borne in mind that this triplet of verses occurs in the Ṛk-saṃhitā and Sāma-saṃhitā and has been there commented upon by Sāyaṇa and Skandasvāmin, and that the first of them occurs in the Sāma-saṃhitā, Atharvaveda-saṃhitā and Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha and has been explained by Sāyaṇa and Haradatta. I reproduce these explanations here:

Sāyaṇa on RV. 1; 94; 1, 4, 3. अर्हते पूज्याय जातवेदसे जातानामुत्पन्नानां वेदित्रे जातप्रज्ञाय जातधनाय वा अग्नये मनीषया निशितया बुद्ध्या इमं एतत्सूक्तरूपं स्तोमं स्तोत्रं रथमिव यथा तक्षा रथं संस्करोति तथा संमहेम । सम्यक् पूजितं कुर्मः । अस्याग्नेः संसदि संभजने नोऽस्माकं प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टा बुद्धिः भद्रा हि कल्याणी समर्था खलु । अतस्तया बुद्ध्या स्तुम इत्यर्थः । हे अग्ने तव सख्ये अस्माकं त्वया सह सखित्वे सति वयं मा रिषाम । हिंसिता न भवाम । अस्मान् रक्षेत्यर्थः । अर्हते । अर्ह पूजायाम् । 'अर्हः प्रशंसायाम्' इति लटः शत्रादेशः । शपः पित्त्वादनुदात्तत्वम् । शतुश्चादुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकस्वरेण धातुस्वरः शिष्यते । महेमा । मह पूजायाम् । रिषामा । रिष हिंसायाम् । व्यत्ययेन शः । तव । 'युष्मदस्मदोर्ङसि' इत्याद्युदात्तत्वम् ॥

हे अग्ने त्वद्यागार्थम् इध्मम् इन्धनसाधनम् एकविंशतिदार्वात्मकं समित्समूहं भराम । संपादयाम । तदनन्तरं ते तुभ्यं हवींषि चरुपुरोडाशादीन्यन्नानि वयं कृणवाम करवाम । किं कुर्वन्तः । पर्वणा पर्वणा प्रतिपक्षमावृत्ताभ्यां दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां चितयन्तः त्वां प्रज्ञापयन्तः । स त्वं जीवातवे अस्माकं जीवनौषधाय चिरकालावस्थानाय धियः कर्माणि अग्निहोत्रादीनि प्रतरं प्रकृष्टतरं साधय निष्पादय । अन्यत् समानम् । चितयन्तः । चिती संज्ञाने । संज्ञापूर्वकस्य विधेरनित्यत्वाल्लघूपधगुणाभावः । पर्वणा पर्वणा । 'नित्यवीप्सयोः' इति वीप्सायां द्विर्भावः । 'तस्य परमाम्रेडितम्' इति परस्य आम्रेडितसंज्ञायाम् 'अनुदात्तं च' इत्यनुदात्तत्वम् । प्रतरम् । तरबन्तात् प्रशब्दात् क्रियाप्रकर्षे वर्तमानात् 'अमु च छन्दसि' इत्यमुप्रत्ययः ॥

हे अग्ने त्वा त्वां समिधं सम्यगिद्धं कर्तुं शकेम शक्ता भूयास्म । त्वं च धियोऽस्मदीयानि दर्शपूर्णमासादीनि कर्माणि साधय निष्पादय । त्वया हि सर्वे

यागा निष्पाद्यन्ते । यस्मात् त्वे त्वय्यग्नौ आहुतम् ऋत्विग्भिः प्रक्षिप्तं चरुपुरोडाशादिकं हविः देवा अदन्ति भक्षयन्ति । तस्मात्त्वं साधयेत्यर्थः । अपि च त्वं आदित्यानदितेः पुत्रान् सर्वान् देवानावह अस्मद्यज्ञार्थमानय । तान् हीदानीमेव वयमुश्मसि कामयामहे । अन्यत् पूर्ववत् । शकेम । शक्लृ शक्तौ । लिङ्याशिष्यङ् । अदुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकानुदात्तत्वेऽङ एव स्वरः शिष्यते । समिधम् । ञि इन्धी दीप्तौ । अस्मात्संपदादिलक्षणः कर्मणि क्विप् । त्वे । 'सुपां सुलुक्' इति सप्तम्येकवचनस्य शे आदेशः । उश्मसि । वश कान्तौ । इदन्तो मसिः । अदादित्वाच्छपो लुक् । 'ग्रहिज्या' इत्यादिना संप्रसारणम् ॥

Sāyaṇa's commentary on Sāmaveda-saṃhitā II, 7, 3, 1, 1-3: Mostly identical with his above-cited explanation of RV. 1, 94, 1, 4, 3.

Skandasvāmin's commentary[1] on RV. 1, 2, 4, 1; 3; 4: इमं स्तोममर्हते जातवेदसे । तादर्थ्ये एषा चतुर्थी । स्तोमार्हस्य जातप्रज्ञानस्य वाग्नेरर्थाय । रथमिव सम्महेम । संशब्दोऽत्र सम्यक्त्वायाम् । महिरपि सामर्थ्यात् गत्यर्थोऽन्तर्णीतण्यर्थश्च । यथा कश्चिद्रथं सम्यगमयत् तद्वत् सम्यग्गमय । मे मनीषया प्रज्ञया अस्माकं प्रज्ञयैव स्तोममुच्चारयेमेत्येतदाशास्महे इत्यर्थः । कस्मात् । उच्यते । भद्रा हि । हिशब्दो यस्मादर्थे । यस्मात् भद्रा नः । षष्ठीनिर्देशादुपरीति वाक्यशेषः । सप्तम्यर्थे वा षष्ठी । अस्माकमुपरि अस्मासु वा प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टानुग्रहात्मिका मतिः । अस्याग्नेः संसदि सभायाम् । यस्मादयं यज्ञादिसभास्वस्माकमनुग्राहक इत्यर्थः । परः पादः प्रत्यक्षकृतत्वात् भिन्नं वाक्यम् । हे अग्ने सख्ये । देवानां मनुष्याणां च स्तुत्यस्तोतृसम्बन्धः सख्यम् । तस्मिन् । सप्तमीनिर्देशाद्वर्तमाना इति वाक्यशेषः । मा रिषाम मा हिंसिष्महि केनचित् वयम् । कस्य सख्ये । उच्यते । तव ॥

शकेम शक्नुयाम त्वां समिधम् । तुमर्थेऽयं कमुल् । समिन्धितुम । साधयास्माकं धियः कर्माणि प्रज्ञा वा । किं च त्वे त्वयि देवाः हविः अदन्ति भक्षयन्ति । आहुतं मर्यादया हुतम् । त्वमादित्यानदितेः पुत्रान् सर्वान् देवान् यष्टुमावह । तान् हि उश्मसि कामयामहे वयम् किं च अग्ने ॥

भराम । शुद्धोऽप्ययं भरतिराङ्पूर्वार्थे द्रष्टव्यः । आहराम । त्वदर्थमिध्मं कृणवाम । हवींषि ते चितयन्तः ज्ञातवन्तः । किम् । सामर्थ्याद्यज्ञकर्म त्वन्माहात्म्यं वा । पर्वणा पर्वणा । सप्तम्यर्थे तृतीयैषा । पर्वणि पर्वणि । पौर्णमास्याममावास्यायां चेत्यर्थः । वयम् । किं च जीवातवे । जीवातुर्जीविका तदर्थम् । प्रतरम् । क्रियाविशेषणमिदम् । प्रकृष्टतरं प्रवृद्धतरं वा । साधयास्माकं धियः । किं च अग्न ॥

1. With emendation of corruptions contained in Dr. Kunhan Raja's edition.

Haradatta on Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha 2, 7. 1: अथ समावर्तने समिदाधानम्—इमं स्तोमं इमां स्तुतिम् अर्हते स्तुत्यर्हाय जातवेदसे जातधनाय जातप्रज्ञाय वा संमहेम । महिः पूजायामन्यत्र, इह तु करोत्यर्थे संस्कारे वा द्रष्टव्यः । कर्तुं संस्कर्तुं वा शक्नुयाम मनीषया स्वया बुद्ध्या रथमिव यथा तक्षा रथं करोति गन्तुकामो वा यथा रथं संस्करोति तद्वत् । किं कारणमग्नेः स्तुतिः क्रियते । उच्यते । भद्रा हि हिशब्दो यस्मादित्यर्थे, यस्माद्भद्रा कल्याणी नः अस्माकं उपरि अस्मासु वा प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टा अनुग्रहात्मिका मतिः अस्य अग्नेः संसदि सभायां यज्ञादिसभासु अस्माकमनुग्राहक इत्यर्थः । परः पादः प्रत्यक्षकृतत्वाद्भिन्नं वाक्यम् । हे अग्ने तव सख्ये देवानां मनुष्याणां च स्तुत्यस्तोतृभावलक्षणं सख्यं तत्र वर्तमाना वयं मा रिषाम मा केन चिद्धिंसिष्महि ॥

Sāyaṇa's explanation of SV. I, 1, 2, 7, 4: Identical with his explanation of SV. II, 7, 3, 1, 1 referred to above, except that the portion treating of grammar is here lacking.

Sāyṇa on AD. 20, 13, 3: अर्हते पूज्याय । अर्हः प्रशंसायामिति लटः शत्रादेशः । जातवेदसे जातप्रज्ञाय जातधनाय वा जातानां उत्पन्नानां वेदित्रे वा इमं इदानीं क्रियमाणं स्तोमं एतत्स्तोत्रं मनीषया निशितया बुद्ध्या संमहेम सम्यक् पूजयेम निष्पादयेम । तत्र दृष्टान्तः । रथमिव यथा रथं रथकारः अक्षफलकाद्यवयवसंयोजनेन संस्करोति तद्वत् । महानुभावस्याग्नेः स्तोमनिष्पादने अतिशयितया बुद्ध्या भवितव्यमिति प्राप्ते तत्सद्भावं दर्शयति । अस्य पूज्यस्याग्नेः संसदि संसदने उपसत्तौ तद्विषये नः अस्माकं प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टा मतिः भद्रा हि कल्याणी खलु । अतः हे अग्ने तव सख्ये बन्धुभावे सति वयं स्तोतारो मा रिषाम हिंसिता न भवेम ॥

As already observed above, we have not so far met with a single instance where Sāyaṇa has borrowed *in toto* his explanation of a mantra from the work of an earlier commentator. Granting however, that SMBr. 2, 4, 2-4 are exceptions and that Prof. Bhattacharya is right in holding that Sāyaṇa's explanations are borrowed from Guṇaviṣṇu, there must be some imperative reason to impel Sāyaṇa not only to depart from his practice of writing his own explanation, but also to refrain from borrowing the explanations of Skandasvāmin or from repeating here (as he has done in the case of Sāmaveda-saṃhitā II, 7, 3, 1, 1-3) his own explanation of the same verses in his commentary on the RV. This reason could only be that Sāyaṇa thought Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation to be the best in every way, one that conveyed

the information required, neither more nor less, in the appropriate words.

This reason however, will not serve in this connection. For, as we have seen above, Sāyaṇa's explanation of SMBr. 2, 4, 2 contains a quotation from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* which is lacking in Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation of that mantra; and in case Sāyaṇa really borrowed his explanation from Guṇaviṣṇu, he must then have interpolated this quotation into that explanation. In other words, Sāyaṇa must have felt dissatisfied with Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation for the lengthening of the short *a* in *mahema* and *riṣāma*, and therefore, added the sūtra from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* to explain it. In that case, one asks one's self, why should Sāyaṇa have borrowed at all from Guṇaviṣṇu? or, if borrow he must, why did he not borrow the explanation of Skandasvāmin, or repeat here the explanations given by him of these mantras in his commentary on the RV? These questions cannot be answered satisfactorily; and the quotation from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* in Sāyaṇa's explanation of SMBr. 2, 4, 2 thus shows that the explanation is Sāyaṇa's own, and that it is Guṇaviṣṇu, who has borrowed it from Sāyaṇa. Sāyaṇa, as we know, was quite conversant with the *Ṛk-saṃhitā* and the literature connected therewith, and there is nothing unusual in his citing a sūtra from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* in the course of his explanation.

The words *pṛṣṭhyasya ṣaḍahasya ṣaṣṭhe'hani āgni-mārute śastre parisamūhane ca viniyogaḥ* too that occur in the beginning of Guṇaviṣṇu's commentary on the above triplet of verses, indicate likewise that the explanation of Guṇaviṣṇu is borrowed. In the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of that author, there are only two occasions when he mentions a *śrauta-viniyoga* as contrasted with a *smārta-viniyoga*. His explanation of the hymn *ṛtam ca satyam ca...*, containing the statement *aśvamedhāvabhṛthe viniyuktāḥ* is one,[1] and that of the verses in question (namely, *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* 1, 7-9=SMBr. 2. 4, 2-4) is the other. The former explanation is, as shown above, borrowed from Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva;* and since Guṇaviṣṇu's expla-

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1. This hymn does not seem to be prescribed for use in the Aśvamedha bathing by any writer on *śrauta* ritual. It is said by Gautama in his *Dharma-sūtra* (24, 10) that the recitation of this

nations of the other verses of the *Chāndogya-mantra- pāṭha* do not contain any reference to *śrauta* rites, one is justified in concluding that he knew nothing of them and that his explanations of the verses in question, with their reference to the *śāstra* on *pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha*, are likewise borrowed.[1] As for Sāyaṇa, we know from his commentaries on the RV and the Taittirīya texts that he was well acquainted with *śrauta* rites, and a reference to such a rite in his explanation furnishes no occasion for surprise.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that Prof. Bhattacharya's opinion that Sāyaṇa borrowed his explanations from Guṇaviṣṇu is untenable, and that, in fact, it is Guṇaviṣṇu who has borrowed from Sāyaṇa. Since the latter died, as said above, in about 1386 A.D., while Raghunandana who mentions Guṇaviṣṇu lived in the 16th century A.D., we may conclude that Guṇaviṣṇu flourished in about 1460 A.D.

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hymn removes all sins and confers on one the same benefit as does participation in the purificatory bath (*avabhṛtha*) of the Aśvamedha, *samamaśvamedhāvabhṛthena.* Halāyudha's words, *aśvamedhāvabhṛthe viniyogaḥ* seem to refer to this statement of Gautama. Compare in this connection the preliminary observations of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara in his commentary on this hymn (TA. 6, 2, 45-47).

1. On p. xxxvi of his *Introduction*, Prof. Bhattacharya has observed, "Guṇaviṣṇu has cited in his commentary a large number of passages from various works dealing witb a variety of topics" and hence concluded that he was acquainted with the *Nighaṇṭu*, *Nirukta*, Yogi-yājñavalkya, *Narasiṃha-purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, etc. The explanations in which these quotations occur are all borrowed by Guṇaviṣṇu either from Sāyaṇa or from Halāyudha, and Prof. Battacharya's above belief is hence unfounded. The only thing that can be safely asserted in connection with Guṇaviṣṇu is, that he was well-acquainted with Pāṇini's grammar.

A SHORT NOTE ON 'ASMĀKAM' IN SANSKRIT.

BY

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Prof. Brugmann says, "The form in *'ākam'* is possibly the nom. acc. sing neut. although it is not easy to ascertain why this form was chosen for the genitive; but it is quite possible that *'asmākam'* was originally adverbial with some meaning like 'on our side' 'by us'; then it may have had the attributive use with nouns. e.g. *asmākam gāyatraḥ*", (Vol. III, part II, p. 396.)

But it may be said that, in expression like *'asmākam dhanam'*, both the words may have been considered to have been in apposition. Since there is slight difference between 'our money' and 'money that is ours', the word *'asmākam'* may have been mistook for genitive. Then it may have been used along with *words of all genders in all numbers.* Such a change is seen in Tamil. The expression

avara...kayam (Puranāṉūṟu, 15) which originally meant 'wells which were theirs' is now taken to mean 'our wells', so that the word *avara* which was originally an *a.·.ṟiṇai* plural participial noun put in apposition with *'kayam'* (*a.·.ṟiṇai* plural noun) is now taken to be the genitive case of *'avar'*.[1]

cf. अस्माकेन वृजनेनाजयेम (RV. P 43, 10)

अस्माकेभिर्नृभिरत्रास्वर्जय (RV. VIII, 16, 12.)

अस्माकासो मघवानो वयं च (RV. VII, 78, 5.)

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1. Though *'a'* in *'avara'* is now taken to be the genitive case suffix, yet there is the restriction that words having it should govern only *a.·.ṟiṇai* plural nouns. This clearly narrates its history.

A NOTE ON THE DATING OF THE FRESCOES IN THE BṚHADĪŚVARA TEMPLE AT TANJORE.

BY

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The earlier paintings in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore form a distinct class by themselves. With the exception of a few traces in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, they are the only known examples of Hindu paintings of the classical type extant in the south. In studying the continuity of tradition in the classical art of painting in India, dating is a problem of considerable importance. With the exception of Mr. Govindaswami[1] and Mr. O. C. Gangoly[2], nobody has made any attempt at this problem; and their arguments are inconclusive.

DATE OF THE LATER PAINTINGS

There are two layers[3] of paintings in the inner shrine of the Bṛhadīśvara temple—an earlier and a later one—which have been executed one over the other. The clue to the dating of the upper layer of painting is given by a painted inscription in Telugu—the language of the Nāyaks of Tanjore—on the western wall of compartment[4] No. 1 under some portraits, probably of kings. From a close study of the wall and of the technique of the painting process adopted on it, there is no doubt that the painted inscriptions and the paintings belong to the same period. The inscription runs thus:—

"Cevvappa Nāyaṃḍu Accutappa Nāyaṃḍu
Raghunātha Nāyaṃḍu Rāmabhadra Nāyaṃḍu
Vijayarāghava Nāyaṃḍu Vyaya . . . ram.

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1. The frescoes in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore—Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol II 1933; p. 1.

2. Discovery of Chola frescoes in Tanjore-Indian Art and Letters 1935, New series, Vol IX, No 2, p. 86.

3. Mr. S. K. Govindaswami loc cit p 2 ff.

4. The passage surrounding the inner shrine and containing the frescoes are divided into 15 compartments.

Ādinellodharmaya...ūātara - vra - a
Lakṣmama - gāru."[1]

In this inscription is mentioned the name of the last king of the Nāyak dynasty of Tanjore—Vijayarāghava (1633-1673 A.D.)[2] who died in 1673 in a battle with Cokkanātha Nāyak of Madura. The painting on this wall must, therefore, have been executed during the time of Vijayarāghava or subsequent to his death.

It was suggested to me by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma that, if the missing letters between " Vyaya " and " ram " are supplied it should read " Vyaya Saṃvatsaraṃ." According to Mr., L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's " Indian Ephemeris," Vyaya occurred in 1646-47 A. D. during the time of Vijayarāghava. It occured again sixty years later, that is, in 1706-07 A. D. or about thirty-three years after the death of Vijayarāghava. From this it is clear that the paintings on this wall were executed either in 1646-47 A. D. or in 1706-07 A. D.

It is unlikely that the paintings came into existence during the Mahratta period, which began in 1674 A. D., because the Mahrattas would never have commemorated the dynasty, whose downfall was brought about by them. Further, there are some differences in style between the Nāyak and the Mahratta paintings. From the point of view of the technique and style, all the paintings on the upper layer are of the same class. They may, therefore, be dated from the 17th century A. D.

These paintings have been painted over a layer of more beautiful and early paintings. It may be argued that Vijayarāghava, being a devout and rank Vaishnavite, painted the walls over again to cover the details of earlier Saivite scenes. Mr N. K. Venkatesan[3] says, "While the first three Nāyak kings held the balance between rival faiths in the state, the fourth king Vijayarāghava Nāyak grew somehow to be a rank Vaishnavite[4] and tra-

1. The inscription was deciphered by Mr T. N. Ramachandran of the Archaeological Survey of India.

2. "History of the Nāyakas of by K. Sitaramiya, Tanjore".

3. Govinda Dīkṣita—Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol II, p. 2828.

4. This statement does not seem to be corroborated facts, especially in the light of the existence of Śaivaite frescoes of his times.

tion says that this was the reason why the Nāyak rule came to an end with him, because he left off the evenness of temper so essential for a king, and became a partisan in his religious faith and hence in his public conduct as king." If this is true, it is strange that one finds at least as many Śaivite figures on the Nāyak layer as on the earlier one. The only explanation that can be offered for the super - imposition of an earlier layer of painting by the later layer is that the walls were specially prepared from time to time especially during festivals and fresh paintings were executed thereon.

DATE OF THE EARLIER PAINTINGS

The clue to the dating of the earlier frescoes is given by the scenes from the life of Saint Sundara depicted on one of the panels of the eastern wall of compartment No.7. Śiva appears before the assembly gathered to attend the wedding of Sundara, whom He claims as His slave. He then leads the assembly and Sundara to a temple where He disappears. Sundara goes to to Kailāsa, mounted on an elephant preeded by King Cēramān̲ on horseback.

There are at least four important texts that treat of the life of Sundara. There is the " Patin̲on̲rām Tirumur̲ai " in " Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandādi", a Tamil work of the 10-11th century A.D. of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. Śēkkil̲ār, the minister of Kulottuṅga II (1133-1150 A.D.)[1] wrote a Tamil work called "Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam", generally known as "Periyapurāṇam". A Telugu work of 1190 A. D. entitled " Basavapurāṇam "[2] by Palkuriki Somanātha Kavi, also depicts the life of Sundara. This work is very important, because its author lived in the 12th century A.D., about the time of Śēkkil̲ār and should have been alive to the traditional account of the life of Sundara. A work in Sanskrit of uncertain date called " Agastya Bhaktavilāsa[3]" is also known. It

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1. I am indebted to Prof K.A. Nilakanta Sastri for these dates.

2. Pandit Prabhakara Sastri of the Governmant Oriental Mss. Library, Madras drew my attention to this book and translated for me the life of Sundara from it.

3. Dr. V. Raghavan pointed out that there are two Bhaktavilāsas, viz., Agastya Bhaktavilāsa and Upamanyu Bhaktavilāsa. Agastya and Upamanyu figure as narrators in both.

treats of the life of many Śaivite saints, Sundara among others. There are other texts in Kanarese[1] which, being later than the 12th century are not of great importance to the discussion here.

The journey of Sundara to Kailāsa riding an elephant[2] preceded by king Cēramān on horseback is depicted in the earlier frescoes and these details are given only in the Periyapurāṇam and in none of the other texts. This difference is not a matter of popular belief or tradition because, none of the other texts quoted above, mentions this fact. It may be taken that the story of Sundara's journey to Kailāsa mounted on an elephant preceded by king Cēramān emanated from Śēkkiḻār's imagination.[3]

As this scene, which is found nowhere else except in Śēkkiḻār's account, appears in the early paintings, it seems evident that it was based on Periyapurāṇam. As a minister and the most

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Besides these, there are two more texts bearing on the lives of Śaivite saints, viz., a section in the Skandopapurāṇa and a section in Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa (Mss in the Govt. Oriental Mss. library' Madras). In the Sanskrit literature on the lives of Śaivite saints, there are two versions of Sundara's story. While one version stops with his life at Tiruvārūr and makes no mention of Cēramān or Sundara's journey to Kailāsa on an elephant, the other (Upamanyu) deals with these incidents. There are other mutual differences also as well as differences from the Tamil literature on the Saints. But the evidences of these Sanskrit works having been produced under the influences of Tamil literature on the lives of saints are not wanting.

1. Aravattumūvara Purātana Caritre
Triṣaṣṭipurātana Caritre by Karnāṭaka Kavicakravarti
Aravattumūru Purātana Saranara Caritre.

2. " Mr. S. K. Govindaswamy has suggested that the seated figure on the elephant may represent Rājarāja himself taking part in some ceremony connected with the initial installation of the shrine. Whether the figure represents the king or not, there is little doubt that the scene represents some important ceremony connected with the installation, as the position of this group in close proximity to a representation of the shrine, with a painted image ofNaṭarāja in front of the temple,"! O. C Gangoly—loc cit p. 88. this identification is really strange.

3. Compare, "A careful study of the Periyapurāṇam reveals that details for which there is no warrant in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's short notes on the Śaivite saints make their appearance for the first time in Śēkkiḻār's account, for ought we know, Śēkkiḻār was guided by his imagination and by popular belief".
Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. The Colas. p. 18.

important officer of the state, Śēkkiḻār probably had important scenes from Periyapurāṇam specially executed by artists. It may, therefore, be safely presumed that the paintings were executed about the time of the Periyapurāṇam or immediately after. It is not unlikely that the portrait[1] of the king onthe same wall may be that of Kulōttuṅga II, the king under whom Śēkkiḻār worked as a minister.

The technique and the style of the painting of the scenes from Sundara's life are not the best of their kind in the earlier group of paintings. On this evidence it may be argued that the scenes from Sundara's life represent a degenerate type of Cola art and that the other frescoes were executed before the days of Kulottuṅga II. Even on the same wall there are paintings of Śiva in Yogāsana, Apsarasas dancing, an elephant, a horse, etc. which are some of the masterpieces of Cola art and bear a striking resemblance to the classical art of Ajanta and of the Pallavas and these are similar in technique and style to the strikingly beautiful paintings on the walls of compartments Nos. 10 and 11.

The technique of the fresco process requires that the paintings on a single wall should be executed at almost the same time. Otherwise, breaks will be evident by a clear line separating the old plaster or paint from the new. In fact, with many Italian frescoes, it has been possible to find out the extent of the work done each day by studying such breaks. No such line of demarcation could be found on this wall. Further, the plaster on this wall being very thin, the paintings should have been executed as rapidly as possible before the former dried up. Thus the entire subject-matter of the earlier frescoes on this wall must date from a single period. The difference in technique and style of some of the pictures is due to the fact that the artist embellished and paid greater attention to more sublime and larger subjects. Thus the earlier frescoes on this wall are works of the Cola period and date from the 12th century A.D., at the latest. It is probable that some of the pictures like that of Tripurāntaka which is a masterpiece of classical art, were executed about the same time. It seems improbable that these frescoes which are almost on adjacent walls should have been executed during the time of Rājāraja, that is, about two centuries earlier, as suggested by Mr. Govindaswamy and Mr. Gangoly in their articles already

1. Mr. S. K. Govindaswamy thinks that it probably represents Rājarāja. Mr Govindaswamy loc cit pp 9.

referred to. We can safely say that the classical art of Tanjore continues down to the 12th century A. D.

The Cola paintings thus date from the 12th century A. D. and the Nāyak paintings from the 17th. The intervening period of about five centuries marks the decline and disappearance of the classical art in Tanjore and the rise of the folk art as represented by the Nāyak art.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE BHAMATI (CATUSSUTRI). EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI AND C. KUNHAN RAJA. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The Bhāmatī is one of the authoritative treatises of the Advaita School of philosophy. In fact, it is one of the classics for the student of Vedānta. To master the Bhāmatī and have a grip of its Paṅkti is the high water mark of consummate scholarship. The author, Vācaspati Miśra, is a scholar of prodigious learning—a Sarvatantrasvatantra—and the depth of his philosophic lore is unsurpassed. According to tradition, the work bears the name of the author's wife and the beautiful story about it mentioned in the introduction reveals the true qualities of an ancient Indian scholar. Vācaspati's prose, though written in a flowing and elegant Sanskrit style, is still the terse Śāstra style and is couched in the phraseology of Prācīna Tarka. It eludes often enough the grasp of the scholar. All Sanskrit philosophical treatises are written in a peculiar prose style which has even become stereotyped and standardised, so that the Paṅkti-anvaya is itself a test of the mastery of the technique of the Śāstra and presents a great difficulty, especially to the modern student of Sanskrit. To translate such a technical work into English is a difficult task for scholars, even to those of the attainments of Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and Dr. Kunhan Raja. Translation is a difficult art. While being literal and accurate, it must bring out fairly clearly the meaning of the original, and while preserving the genius of the original, it must not sacrifice the genius and idiom of the language of translation and be unintelligible to the reader unacquainted with the language of the original. In this few can succeed or have succeeded, and it is no disparagement to any scholar to be told that he has failed to achieve this ideal. The difficulty is increased tenfold when rendering a difficult philosophical work bristling with technical words into English.

For example, there is the well-known sentence,

तथा चेदं ब्रह्मेति व्यापकविरुद्धोपलब्धिः

Stripped of all technicalities, the purport is this: The condition of all scientific enquiry is that the subject of enquiry must admit of doubt and that the enquiry must be fruitful of results, and there is no enquiry without doubt and utility. Hence there is no scope at all for scientific enquiry in the case of Brahman, in the absence doubt and utility. According to the well-known principle of logic, this is the difficulty that is encountered at the outset. For, the knowledge of Brahman is as daylight, and there is no wordly purpose also in such knowledge. The readers of the English translation will be unable to make out this meaning.

We congratulate the authors on this laudable attempt at translating one of the greatest philosophic works in Sanskrit and on, rendering thus, a great service to the philosophical world.

K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar.

THE MAHABHARATA, CONDENSED IN THE POETS' OWN WORDS BY PANDIT A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY V. RAGHAVAN, M. A., Ph. D. FOREWORD BY SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 1—4—0.

The method of of condensation has been and could be, applied to no other ancient literary heritage of India to greater purpose than to the Mahābhārata. It has been justly remarked of the Epic that the trend of its main story is incomrehensibly lost in the immense over-growth if extraneous matter. The kernel of the Mahābhārata, the story of the feud in the Kuru family, abounds in conspicuously human pictures. The kernel is so heavily overlaid with didactic and religious lore that the throbbing life of the main theme is almost stifled under the latter. The effort which is so wisely made in this book of piercing to the core, slashing off huge masses on the surface is needed for revivifying the epic-theme. There is now a growing class of educated Indians which is likely to ignore the great national epic, if its approach to it is not facilitated by brevity and comprehensibility. To that class this publication is bound to be specially useful. Nor is the condensation appallingly rigorous. If we take the Mahābhārata-kernel to consist of about 8000 stanzass, the condensation is $\frac{1}{8}$ of the original. In about a thousand, stanzas, the reader is enabled to go through the adventures of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, the panorama passing before the readers' vision with the arresting liveliness of a sensational drama,

The compressed presentation happily focusses at close succession the vivid dramatic situations and engages the human interest of the modern reader in it most effectively.

To facilitate its comprehension, an English Translation has been made part of this publication. The Translator's Note reveals how intelligently the translator has comprehended the nature of his task. Trusting to his good sense, the translator, with his intimate understanding of the geniuses of both the languages, has presented an even narrative, chaste and eminently readable.

The utility of the Index to the proper names occurring in the Text, dealing with two-hundred headings, and serving as a veritable 'who is who' can not be overrated. As a fitting conclusion to the book, the learned translator adds a note on the message of the Mahābhārata, in which he expatiates on the weighty pronouncement of Ānandvardhana that the final import of the great epic is the emphasis on the realisation of the vanity of earthly glories and the attainment of śānti, leading to Moksa.

It is a modest statement of fact that the get up is attractive and the volume handy. We would like to to point out to the publishers its need to use diacritical marks for the transliterated Sanskrit words. The price of the look is a marvel of cheapness.

Y. Mahalinga Sastri.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SERIES, No. 9.

THE COLAS VOL. I (TO THE ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I) BY K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., PROFESSOR OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. 1935—ANANDA PRESS, MADRAS. (PREFACE XII; CHAPTERS I TO XII PAGES 358; APPENDIX, ADDITIONAL NOTES AND INDEX, PAGES 359 TO 718) (Price Rs. 8 or 12sh).

This volume is the first instalment, and a very substantial instalment full of promise, of a comprehensive and complete history of the Cōḷa epoch, which is admittedly the period when the constructive genius of the Tamil country rose to heights of achievement, at once superb and varied, in several spheres—government, art, religion and letters. In this volume, the learned author sets forth, in a systematic manner, all the trustworthy and noteworthy material concerning the history of the Cōḷas, that could be gathered from diverse sources—the portions of the Śaṅgam literature available in print, the religious and secular literature, mainly in Tamil, of the post-Śaṅgam age, inscriptions and grants which throw light on Cōḷa history in a direct or indirect manner, the monuments and coins of the Cōḷa period, the records left by the Chinese, Arab and early European travellers and Muslim historians; and he evaluates the data furnished by these sources with a remarkably sound judgment and a highly commendable degree of level-headedness and deduces his conclusions generally with very great caution. In Chapters II and III, when dealing with the references and notices concerning the Cōḷas in early Tamil literature and elsewhere, myths are discriminated from historical facts with a keen discernment; and by way of illustration, one may read the paragraphs dealing with the relation of the Moriyar (Mauryas) to the South Indian States and Karikāla's life and achievements, as also the foot-notes critically reviewing the opinions expressed by some writers on Māmūlaṉār's account of the Mauryan raid into the Tamil country and the schemes of Cōḷa genealogy suggested by Kanakasabhai and Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar. Chapter IV gives an interesting account of Government and social life in the Śaṅgam age and Chapters V to XII take the

history up to the accession of Kulōttuṅga I. The high level of historical judgment which Professor Nilakantha Sastri brings to bear on all his work is borne out amply by the unbiassed and sholarly way in which he examines numerous literary and epigraphic records in the course of his historiographic expositions in Chapters IV to XII. None can miss the strikingly sound line of reasoning adopted by Professor Nilakantha Sastri in the two Notes which are appended to Chapter X; and in the former of these two notes, the well-known verse about Mahīpāla, in the prologue to the Sanskrit drama Caṇḍakauśika, is correlated satisfactorily with all the historical facts ascertainable from epigraphic records about Mahīpāla. By the way, it may be pointed out that Sanskrit scholars may be tempted, not unreasonably, to suggest a veiled pun even in the word 'Candragupta' occurring in the Sanskrit verse in the prologue of the 'Caṇḍakauśika' and to point out that Mahīpāla was also Candragupta in the sense that he was helped by Candra (the Candella king Harṣadeva) in regaining his throne.

If Professor Nilakantha Sastri could be said to have erred in anything in his work under review, it is on the side of caution. While there is absolutely no overstatement of his case on any point and generally there is no understatement, his historical cautiousness may be said to have deterred him from pushing certain evidences to their logical conclusion. For instance, in discussing the place of the *Maṇimēkhalai* in the history of Tamil Literature, in the concluding part of Chapter III, he states, with perfect fairness, the case for assigning a *post-Diṅnāga* date to the Tamil classic; but he seems to get himself entangled in one of the snares of over-cautiousness, viz., *compromise*, and asserts "with some confidence that the *Nyāyapraveśa* has been inserted in the *Maṇimekalai*". He fortifies his position by a reference to the presence of some pre-Diṅnāga elements of Nyāya and Sāmkhya in Chapter XXIX of the Maṇimēkhalai. He thinks also that the clue to the real history of this chapter is to be found in Mr. Dhruva's remark "The author of the Maṇimēkalai does not perceive that the last two *avayavas* can never be included in the *Dṛṣṭānta* as he ignorantly imagines," and arrives at the conclusion that the chapter in question should have undergone a clumsy remodelling at the hands of a pious student of Diṅnāga of the post-Śaṅgam age. In the first place, it must be observed here that the characteristically incisive logic of Professor Nilakantha Sastri would certainly

enable him to see that the presence of certain pre-Diṅnāga elements in the *Maṇimekhalai*, while they may affect the beginning of the anterior limit, cannot affect its end which has been ascertained from the admittedly undoubted presupposition of Diṅnāga's Nyāyapraveśa. Mr. Dhurva's remark about the absurdity of the statement in the *Maṇimēkalai* that Upanaya and Nigamana could be subsumed under *Dṛṣṭānta* is unfortunately the result of some misapprehension; and the fact is that some early Buddhist writers on *Nyāya*, presumably Diṅnāga and his contemporaries, actually contended that *Upaṇaya* and *Nigamana*, as recognised by Gautama and Vātsyāyana, might be subsumed under *dṛṣṭānta* and pointed attention has been drawn by Uddyotakara and Vācaspatsmiśra to this fact in the *avayava* sections of the Nyāyavārtika and Tātparyaṭīkā. Except in this single instance, Professor Nilakantha Sastri's historical shrewdness and caution have resulted almost invariably in safe and sound conclusions. How cautious Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastri has been, even in his casual statements, may be seen, for instance, from an observation like this "The Cōḷas, like the Pāṇḍyas, are spoken of in the plural in all the versions of the Aśokan edicts, and this has been *held to imply* that in Aśoka's time there were more than one *Cōḷa* and one *Pāṇḍya* king." In view of the fact that the main ground of this implication vanishes, the moment it is remembered that the plural form in Sanskrit would be the only correct form when the country (*janapada*) is referred to, the full significance of the saving phrase '*held to imply*' put in by Professor K. A. N. Sastri can be easily appreciated.

Using to some extent the language of Wingfield-Stratford, it may be observed, in conclusion, that Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastri has successfully steered clear of the *scylla* of the *free lance*, with his glibly prolific arguments from words and accidental resemblances, and the *Charybdis* of the orthodox historian, with his chilling and icy scepticism; and he has produced this scholarly substantial and perfectly reliable account of the Cōḷa history, on every page of which one could see ample evidence of the author's wealth of learning, ripe scholarship and sound historical judgment.

S. Kuppuswami Sastri.

NĀMPALI GRANT

Plate I.

To face page 60.

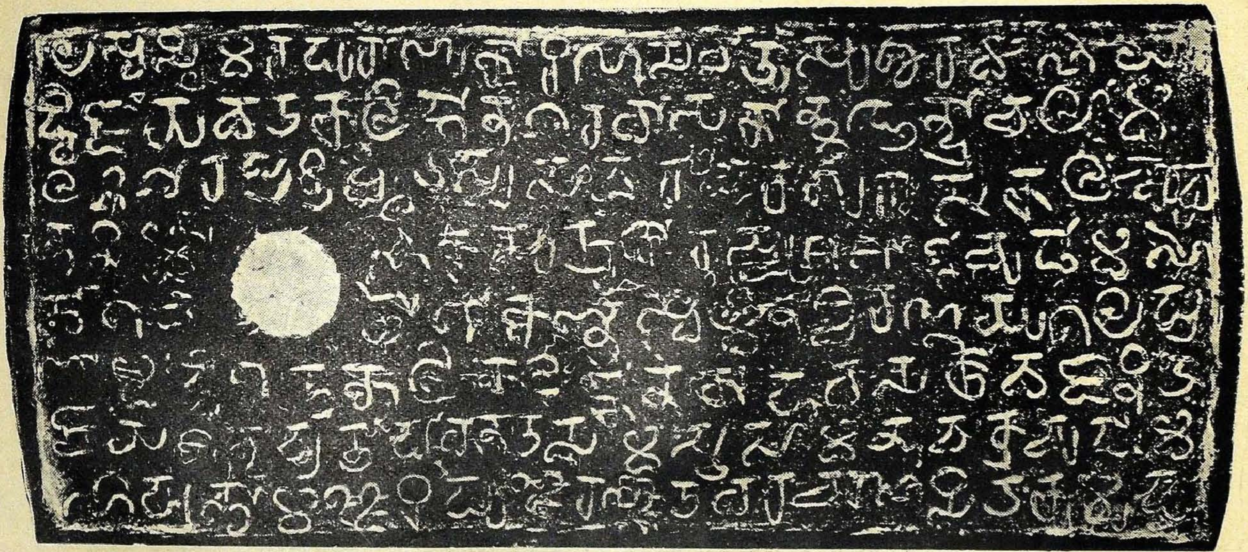


Plate II (*a*). To face page 61.

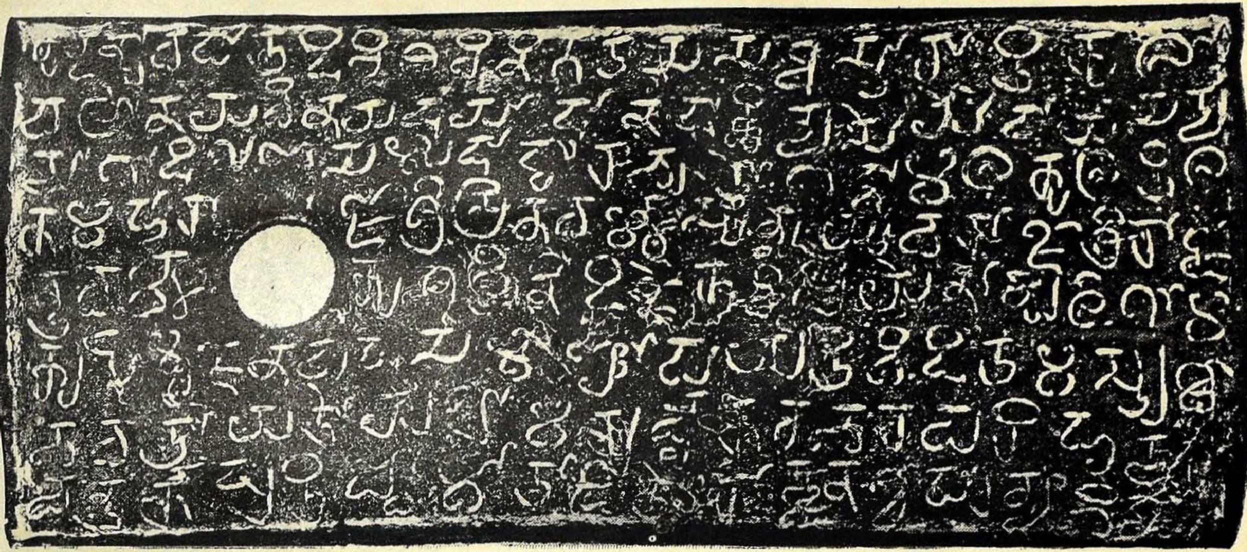


Plate II (*b*).

To face page 62.

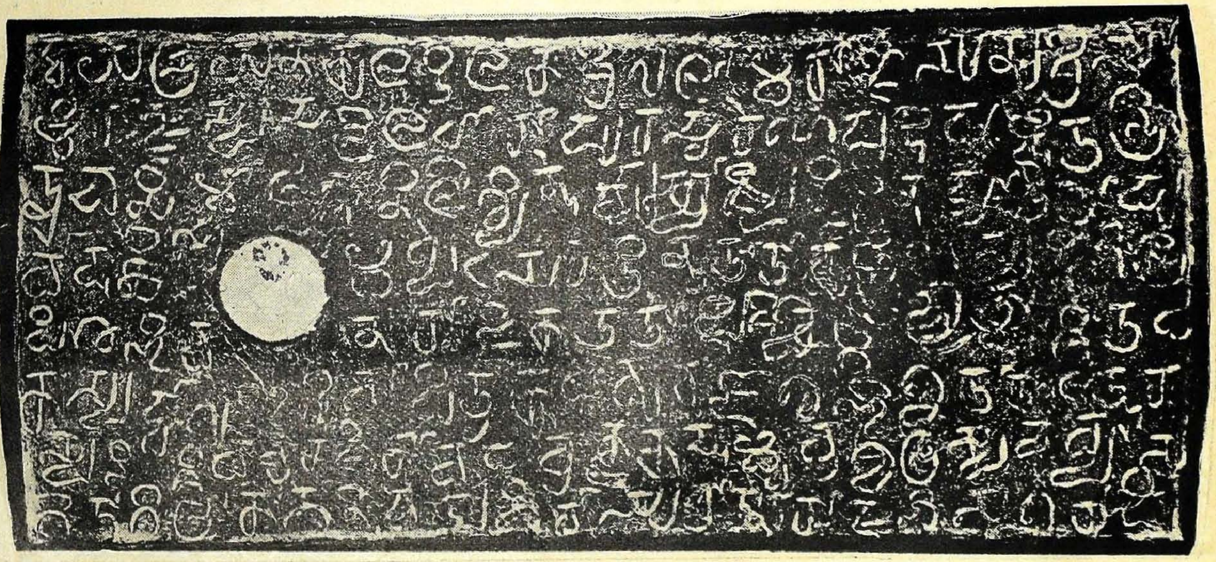
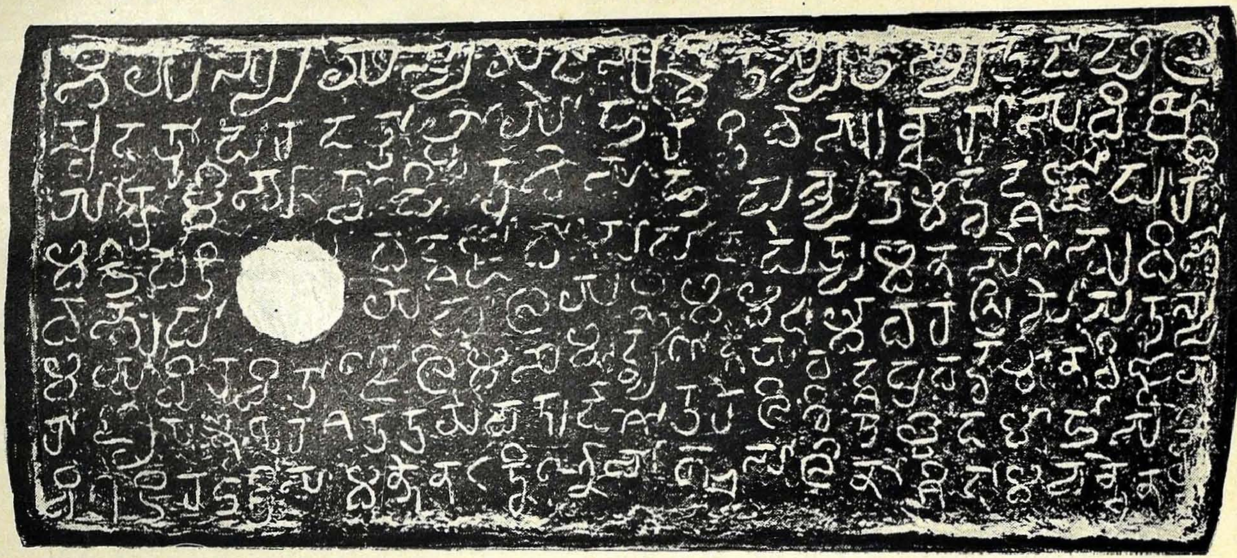


Plate III. To face page 62



J. O. R. M.

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

सुरावाजिनयोरिष्टिः सान्नाय्यं प्रकृतिः पशोः ।
तत्रापि [1]शृतमामिक्षा [2]शृतैकप्रकृतिर्मता ॥ २१६ ॥

अहीनसत्रप्रकृतिर्द्वादशाहो व्यवस्थया ।
सपञ्चदशरात्रं तु सत्रं स्यात् कौण्डपायिनाम् ॥ २१७ ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

हविर्गणे[3] देवतायाः[4] साम्येन प्रकृतिस्थितिः ।
सप्तरात्रे तु नानाह्नां प्रवृत्तिः सङ्ख्यसाम्यतः ॥ २१८ ॥

षडहावृत्तिरेव स्याच्चत्वारः [5]षडहा इति ।
[6]संस्थागणशतोक्थ्यादौ धर्माः स्युर्द्वादशाहिकाः ॥ २१९ ॥

शतोक्थ्यादिगतोक्थ्यादिष्वेकाहाद्धर्मसंक्रमः ।
ग्राह्या उत्पत्तिगायत्र्यो[7] बृहस्पतिसवे मताः ॥ २२० ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

दर्विहोमः कर्मनाम वैदिकानामपीष्यते ।
जुहोतिचोदनानां स्यादपूर्वा एव ते मताः ॥ २२१ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

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1. A, T and G. श्रुत-
   LV. भृत-
2. A, A[1] and LV. श्रितैक-
   T and G. श्रुतै-
3. A and LV. हविर्भेदे
4. A. देवतयोः
5. T. षडहाविति
6. A[1]. संस्थागवा-
   G. संस्थागणे
7. A. गायत्र्या

॥ अथ नवमोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

प्रयोक्तृपूर्वं[1] धर्माणां स्याच्चैतत् सन्निपातिनाम् ।
निमित्तं चापि तेषां तदित्येवं वर्णकत्रयम् ॥ २२२ ॥

प्रोक्षणं हन्तिपिष्टिभ्यां[2] सोमापूर्वैश्च[3] वाग्यमः ।
देवताफलसंबन्धस्ताभ्यां वा न प्रयुज्यते ॥ २२३ ॥

न देवतातिथिन्यायाद्यज्ञे[4] प्राधान्यमश्नुते[5] ।
व्रीह्याद्यैर्न[6] प्रयुज्यन्ते [7]प्रोक्षणप्रमुखान्यपि ॥ २२४ ॥

सोमोद्भवेनापूर्वेण नोपांशुत्वं प्रयुज्यते ।
[8]प्रणीतावाग्यमोऽप्येवं नैष्टिकेन प्रयुज्यते ॥ २२५ ॥

[9]प्रतीष्टकं नाग्निधर्मः पत्न्यन्तत्वं विनोत्तमम्[10] ।
अभ्यासः सामिधेनीनां स्थानधर्मत्वमृच्छति ॥ २२६ ॥

आरम्भणीया नावृत्ताविष्टेरावृत्तिमश्नुते[11] ।
[12]नान्वाधानाङ्गमेषेतीमौ न्यायौ वृत्तिभाष्ययोः ॥ २२७ ॥

न निर्वापे सवित्रश्विपूष्णामूहः प्रवर्तते ।
तस्मिन्नग्निपदं तूह्यं समवेताभिधानतः ॥ २२८ ॥

तथा मांसपुरोडाशे चोह्यं धान्यपदं भवेत् ।
[13]इडामन्त्रे यज्ञपतेर्नोहः सत्रेषु[14] विद्यते ॥ २२९ ॥

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1. G. प्रयोक्तृपूर्वं
2. A. पीष्टिभ्यां
3. A. पूर्वश्च
4. A¹. अग्ने
5. A. मिष्यते
6. T and A¹. द्यैश्च
7. T. न प्रोक्षणमुखानपि
8. A¹ omits this ardha.
9. T. प्रगेष्टकं
   A. प्रताष्टकं
   A¹. प्रतिष्टकं
   G. प्रतीष्टकं नास्ति
10. G. त्तमे
11. T, A, A¹ and LV. विष्ट्योरावृत्तिमश्नुते
12. T. नान्वाधानाङ्गमारम्भणीया पुंसस्तु संस्कृतिः ।
    G omits this ardha.
13. LV omits this and the next ardha.
14. A, A¹, G and LV. सर्वेषु

विद्यते यजमानस्य सूक्तवाके फलित्वतः ।
आग्नेयसुब्रह्मण्यायां नोह्या हरिवदादयः ॥ २३० ॥

न तस्यै [1]श्रृतमित्यादि वत्से चोहं प्रपद्यते[2] ।
पशुसामानविध्यं चेन्मेष्यां [3]लुप्तोऽध्रिगुर्भवेत् ॥ २३१ ॥
नियतः स्यादिराशब्दः प्रगीतः स प्रयुज्यते ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

गीतयः सामशब्दोक्ताः स्यादूहश्च सकर्तृकः ॥ २३२ ॥
साम संस्कारकर्म स्यात्तद्भवेत् प्रत्यृचं तृचे ।
प्रगेयं[4] तत्समास्वेव [5]रूढमुत्तरयोरिति ॥ २३३ ॥

त्रैशोकं [6]विषमत्वेऽपि बृहत्योर्भवतीति च ।
बृहद्रथन्तरे गेये प्रगाथककुभोर्मते ॥ २३४ ॥

प्रागाथिकबृहत्योश्च स्याद्यौधाजयरौरवम् ।
[7]प्रागाथिकानुष्टुभोश्च श्यावाश्वान्धीगवे मते ॥ २३५ ॥

द्वयोर्द्वयोः [8]प्रग्रथनात्तृचत्वं बार्हतेषु च ।
गीतिभेदा विकल्पेरन् न [9]चर्कसामे उभे स्मृते[10] ॥ २३६ ॥

प्रगीतया [11]चोपस्थानं तानश्च [12]क्रतुषु स्मृतः ।
साम्नां स्यादुत्तरासूह[13] [14]आर्यीभावविकारतः ॥ २३७ ॥

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1. T. कृतं
A and A¹. श्रुतं
LV. भृतं
2. A. चोहः प्रवर्तते
3. A, A¹ and LV. लुप्तो मनु
4. LV. प्रयोगं
5. G. रूढिरुत्तर
6. T and A¹. विषयत्वे
7. LV omits this ardha.
8. G. प्रकथ-
A. प्रगाधत्रिष्टुभश्च स्याच्छावा-
9. T, A¹ and LV omit च
10. G. स्तुतौ
11. LV. वोप-
12. LV. ऋतुषु
13. LV. उत्तरामूह
A. उत्तरादूह
14. LV. आपिभाव
A, A¹ and T. अधि-

स्तोभा अप्यतिदिश्येरन् विवर्णमधिकं तु ते ।
व्रीह्यादिस्थानमापन्नाः स्युर्नीवारनखादयः ॥ २३८ ॥

परिधौ यूपधर्माप्तिः स्यान्नियोजनसाधने ।
श्रृतदध्नोरभ्युदये प्रणीताकार्यमिष्यते ॥ २३९ ॥

रथन्तरबृहद्धर्मा यथाशब्दं[1] व्यवस्थिताः ।
[2]कण्वे [3]समुच्चितास्ते वासंवादेन व्यवस्थिताः ॥ २४० ॥

[4]गोसवे तु व्यवस्थैव धर्माणां सामगत्वतः ।
विकृतावतिदेशोऽस्ति नैव पार्वणहोमयोः ॥ २४१ ॥

विभज्यैव प्रयोक्तव्यौ पर्वणोस्तौ यथायथम् ।
समिदाद्याः प्रयाजास्तु स्युरारादुपकारकाः ॥ २४२ ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

द्रव्यदेवतमूह्यं स्यात्तथा [5]द्रव्यविशेषणम् ।
यूपस्य लौकिके[6] स्पर्शे प्रायश्चित्तमुदीरितम् ॥ २४३ ॥

द्वावप्यूह्यौ द्विपशुके प्रयोगे [7]पाशमन्त्रकौ ।
पाशानित्येष मन्त्रोऽपि निवेशं प्रकृतौ भजेत्[8] ॥ २४४ ॥

प्रकृतौ पत्न्यनेकत्वे पत्नीमित्यस्य नोह्यता ।
[9]विकृतौ तदनेकत्वेऽप्यूह्यतास्य न विद्यते ॥ २४५ ॥

[10]तथोक्थ्यादैकविध्ये प्रास्मा इत्यस्य नोह्यता ।
व्रीहेः प्रतिनिधावूहो नीवारादौ न विद्यते ॥ २४६ ॥

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1. G. यथावस्यं
2. A[1]. अण्वे
3. LV and G. समुदिता-
4. T and A omit this ardha.
5. A[1]. द्रव्ये
6. A. लौकिक-
7. A, A[1] and G. पाश
8. A. भवेत्
   A[1]. व्रजेत्
9. A[1] omits this and the next ardha.
10. G. omits this ardha.

नोह्याः स्युः पश्वनेकत्वे संसर्गिद्रव्यवाचकाः ।
[1]तत्र त्वभ्यसितव्यत्वमेकधेति पदं व्रजेत् ॥ २४७ ॥

देवताद्वयमेव[2] स्यात् पशौ मेधपतिद्वयम् ।
तत्रैकवचनान्तस्य नास्त्यूहो बहुदैवते ॥ २४८ ॥

देवतारूपभेदे तु तत्राप्यूहः प्रवर्तते ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

[3]वङ्क्रीणां पश्वनेकत्वे समस्य वचनं मतम् ॥ २४९ ॥

न्यायद्वयं वक्ष्यमाणं टुप्टीकायामुदीरितम् ।
निषिद्धोऽपि चतुस्त्रिंशन्मन्त्रः पक्षे प्रवर्तते ॥ २५० ॥

[4]प्राकृतेऽश्वादिवङ्क्रीणां समस्यैव वचो भवेत् ।
[5]प्राकृतस्यापि करणं समस्तप्रतिषेधतः ॥ २५१ ॥

उरूकेति वपायां स्यात् [6]प्रशसेति प्रशस्तयोः ।
श्येनमित्यादिकं तत्तत्कार्त्स्न्यस्य [7]प्रतिपादकम्[8] ॥ २५२ ॥

दर्शार्थे[9] नाग्निहोत्रस्य[10] कालोद्धाननिमित्तकम् ।
तद्वद्धृताग्निश्रियो [11]धार्ये न दर्शाग्न्युद्धृतौ[12] मनुः ॥ २५३ ॥

प्रदेयधर्मः पयसि श्रपणार्थे न विद्यते ।
[13]कर्तव्योऽभ्युदये स स्यात् [14]पशुकामेष्टिगो न सः ॥ २५४ ॥

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1. A. तत्राप्यभ्यसि-
2. G. परमेव
3. A. क्रियाणां
4. G. This ardha is read after मतम् in verse 241.
5. T and A[1] omit this ardha.
6. LV. प्रशंसेति
7. LV. कर्मास्य
8. G. प्रतिपादनम्
9. T. दर्शार्थो
   A and A[1]. दर्शार्थ
10. T. होत्रार्थकालौ द्वौ न
11. G. धार्य्ये
12. G. दर्शाग्न्युद्धृते
    A and A[1]. दर्शाद्यं धृतौ
13. G. कर्तव्योऽभ्युदयेष्टेस्तु शृतदध्ना सुधिष्णतः। पशुकामेष्टिगतयोः न कर्तव्यस्तयोस्तु सः ॥ स्यात् पर्यग्निकृते सर्गे [कृतोत्सर्गे] तदन्ताङ्गाकृतेर्विधिः [ततो- विधिः] ॥
14. LV omits this pāda.

[1]मिश्रणे पयआदीनां सोमधर्मो न विद्यते ।
अश्वमेधपशूत्सर्गे तदन्ताङ्गततेर्विधिः ॥ २५५ ॥

आज्येन शेषमित्येष यागान्तरविधिर्भवेत् ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इति नवमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

अतिदेशः पदार्थानामुपकारमुखो[2] मतः[3] ॥ २५६ ॥

कृष्णलेनावघातश्च विष्णोरावाहनं न च ।
[4]आरम्भणीया नाङ्गेषु दीक्षणीयादिकेष्टिषु [5]॥ २५७ ॥

नानुमत्यादिषु तथा नापि [6]स्वस्यां प्रवर्तते ।
यूपाहुतिः खलेवाल्यां नास्ति स्थाण्वाहुतिस्तथा ॥ २५८ ॥

प्रयाजो [7]यक्ष्यमाणानां भवेत् संस्कृतिरुत्तमः ।
[8]नाज्यभागौ पशुगतः पुरोडाशस्तु[9]; संस्कृतिः ॥ २५९ ॥

चरुरोदनभेदः[10] स्यात् स्थाल्यामेव स पच्यते ।
तस्मिन् पेषः [11]संयवनं संवापस्तापनं तथा ॥ २६० ॥

T reads from here as follows :-. तदर्थेन हविष्मताम् । पशुकामेष्टिगतयोः न कर्तव्यस्तयोस्तु सः । पयआदौ तथा सोमसंस्कारार्थेऽपि नास्ति सः ॥ स्यात्पर्यग्निकृतोत्सर्गः तदङ्गान्ततेर्विधिः

1. G omits this and the next [ardha.
2. T. रान्मुखो
3. G. ह्यतः
4. T. प्रारम्भ-
5. A, A[1], T and LV. कादिषु
6. T. स्वस्मिन्
7. T. वक्ष्य-
8. G. आज्यभागः
9. T, A, A[1] and LV. पुरोडाशश्च
10. T. भेदेन स्यात्स्थाल्यामेव पच्यते
11. T. संयमनं

उपधानं [1]संप्रथनं श्लक्ष्णीकरणभावना ।
[2]अध्यूहनं प्रज्वलनं [3]व्युद्धृत्यासादनं तथा ॥ २६१ ॥

कर्तव्यत्वं न च भजेत् प्रयोजनविलोपतः ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

श्रुतत्वात्कृष्णले पाकः नास्त्युपस्तरणादिकम्[4]॥ २६२ ॥

[5]श्रुतेर्भक्षणमप्यस्ति भक्षोपहूतयः सह ।
ब्रह्मेतरेषां नो भक्षा [6]भक्षस्तस्यापि कालतः ॥ २६३ ॥

चतुर्धाकृतिनिर्देशमपि तत्र न विद्यते ।
ऋत्विग्दानं[7] भृतिस्तेषां न हविःशेषभक्षणम् ॥ २६४ ॥

तेषां न सत्रे वरणं नापि स्यात्तत्र दक्षिणा ।
शमनीयो न सत्राङ्गं तत्कुर्युः सत्रिणः पृथक् ॥ २६५ ॥

संहत्यकरणेऽपि स्युस्तदन्ये[8] तत्र ऋत्विजः ।
[9]गवादिदानं काम्येष्टावदृष्टैकप्रयोजनम् ॥ २६६ ॥

[10]द्वेष्याय दानमप्येवमास्थियागस्तु जीवताम् ।
लुप्यते जपसंस्कारो मृतस्यैष भवेद्यदि ॥ २६७ ॥

कर्तव्यमेव तत्रापि शुक्रान्वारम्भणादिकम् ।
गुणकामास्तत्र न स्युः सदोमानादिसंश्रयाः ॥ २६८ ॥

नायुराशास्त इत्याद्या न च स्युर्होतृकामनाः[11] ।
सर्वस्वारः समाप्यः स्यान्मृते कर्मास्थियज्ञवत् ॥ २६९ ॥

आयुराशास्त [12]इत्यादि तत्र स्याद्यावदाभवम् ।
ऋतुयाज्यावृत्तिः सत्रेऽप्यदृष्टार्थत्वतो भवेत् ॥ २७० ॥

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1. A. सप्रथनं
2. G. अभ्यूहनं
3. A. व्याहृत्या-
   A¹ and LV. विहृत्य
   T. व्यत्यासा-
4. G. पस्तरणादि तु
5. G. श्रृते
6. G. भक्षो
7. A¹ and T. दत्तं
8. G. तदान्ये
9. T. and G. अश्वादि-
10. G. द्वेष्याभिधानं
11. T. कामतः
    A. कामना
    A¹. कामनम्
12. T, A and A¹. इत्येतत्

निर्वापः पवमानेष्टौ गुणलोपान्न [1]लुप्यते ।
संख्यामुष्टिविरोधे स्यान्निर्वापे मुष्टिलोपनम् ॥ २७१ ॥

गोरसाधारणैर्धेनुत्वाद्यैश्छागो निवर्तते ।
साधारणैस्तु श्वेतादिगुणैर्नासौ निवर्तते ॥ २७२ ॥

निवृत्तिं[2] खदिरत्वादि खलेवाल्यादिषु व्रजेत् ।
तस्यां न स्युश्छेदनाद्याः स्युस्तु[3] पर्यूहणादयः ॥ २७३ ॥

प्राकृतक्रमभेदेऽपि[4] न पदार्थो निवर्तते ।
न प्राकृतक्रमान्यत्वात् [5]पदार्थोऽप्राकृतो भवेत्[6] ॥ २७४ ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

एकादशप्रयाजादौ गुणमात्रविधिर्मतः ।
हिरण्यगर्भमन्त्रः स्यादुत्तराघारसंश्रयः[7] ॥ २७५ ॥

[8]उत्करादेर्गुणस्यैव विधिरासादनादिके ।
[9]अग्नौ दीक्षार्थमन्त्राणां प्राकृतैः स्यात् समुच्चयः ॥ २७६ ॥

प्राकृत्या न समुच्चेया पुनराधेयदक्षिणा ।
अन्वाहार्यस्याग्रयणे वासोवत्सं निवर्तकम् ॥ २७७ ॥

तदन्वाहार्यधर्मः स्याद्वत्से पाको निवर्तते[10] ।
नापि [11]वाससि पाकः स्यान्न तयोरभिघारणम् ॥ २७८ ॥

द्वादशं शतमित्येषा संख्या गोमात्रसंश्रया[12] ।
विभज्य दक्षिणा देया विभागः स्यात् समाख्यया ॥ २७९ ॥

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1. T and A[1]. लभ्यते
2. A. विवृतिः
3. A and A[1]. स्तूप
4. A. हि
5. T. पदार्थोऽपक्तेष्वपि
   A[1]. पदार्थोऽपकृतिः पिषिः
6. G. प्रकृतेष्वपि
7. T adds the following ardha. प्रकृते यूपकार्यादौ परिध्यादिर्विधीयते ।
8. T. उत्करादौ
9. G. आदौ[अग्नौ] दीक्षाहुतीनां स्यात् प्राकृतीनां समुच्चयः
10. G. न विद्यते
11. T and A. वासोऽभि
12. G. संख्यया

[1]सर्वस्या दक्षिणाया स्याद्भुवि धेनुर्निवर्तिका ।
एक पञ्च गवामेव कृत्स्नस्यापि त्रिवत्सकम्[2] ॥ २८० ॥

प्राकाशदानमध्वर्युभागस्यैव निवर्तकम्[3] ।
[4]श्यावोऽश्वः [5]सकलस्यापि स्यात् सोमचमसस्तथा ॥ २८१ ॥

वाक्यैक्ये तु ब्रह्मभागमात्रस्यैव[6] निवर्तकः ।
यजुर्युक्तस्तु नाध्वर्युभागस्य विनिवर्तकः[7] ॥ २८२ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

नक्षत्रेष्ट्युपहोमाद्या [8]न नारिष्टादिबाधकाः ।
कुशकार्ये विधानाच्च तेषां स्युर्बाधकाः शराः ॥ २८३ ॥

स्याद्रथस्य तु घोषस्तु बाधको मन्त्रदर्भयोः ।
बार्हस्पत्यादिभिर्नैव बाध्यन्ते प्राकृता ग्रहाः ॥ २८४ ॥

प्राजापत्यैर्न[9] दैक्षाद्या नानूयाजास्तथा मतैः ।
पत्नीभिर्नोपगा [10]गुल्गुल्वाद्यैर्न नवनीतकम् ॥ २८५ ॥

तार्येणानाहतं[11] न श्लोकाद्यैर्गायत्रमुख्यकम् ।
कौत्सकाण्वजनित्रादिसामभिर्बाध्यते तु तत् ॥ २८६ ॥

तदुद्वापं[12] तानि कुर्युः स्वस्वसंख्यानुसारतः[13] ।
आवापो राजसामादेः[14] उभयं पवमानगम् ॥ २८७ ॥

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1. G. गवादि
2. G. त्रिवत्सरः
3. G. निवर्तकः
4. A¹ and G. श्यावाश्व
5. LV. संकलस्यापि
6. T. भाववाक्यस्यैव
   LV. मात्रस्येव
7. T and A. निनिवर्तकम्
   G. पि निवर्तकः
8. LV. न सारि-
9. G. पत्यास्तु
10. T. गुल्फाद्यैः
    A¹. गुल्गुलवाद्यैः
11. A¹. णाहतकं
    G. हतं वस्तं न शोका-
12. G. वासं
13. T adds this ardha:
    उद्वावावापकं सर्वं गायत्र्यादिगतं मतम् ॥
14. T. मोदः
    G. आपो वा राजसूयादेः

विधिस्थमग्न्यादिपदं नियतं निगमेष्वपि ।
विधिस्थपदमेव स्यात् सौर्यादिविकृतिष्वपि ॥ २८८ ॥

अग्निः पावक इत्यादौ सगुणं तेषु तद्भवेत् ।
[1]गुणे बुधन्वत्यदिः स्यान्नाधानेष्ट्याज्यभागयोः[2] ॥ २८९ ॥

अनूबन्ध्यावनस्पत्यौ[3] स्यातामुस्रा वनस्पती ।
स्यातामवभृथावग्नीवरुणौ स्विष्टकृद्गुणौ ॥ २९० ॥

छिद्रापिधान्या[4] सर्वेष्वप्यगुणा[5] स्विष्टकृद्भवेत् ।
अनूयाजः स्विष्टकृतः तृतीयः संस्कृतिर्मतः ॥ २९१ ॥

याज्यानुवाक्यावचनं न भजेदर्थकर्मताम् ।
ऊहो मनोतामन्त्रस्य वायव्यादौ न विद्यते ॥ २९२ ॥

स्वयोनावेव गेयं स्यात् सामकण्वरथन्तरम् ।
गानमुत्तरयोस्तस्य[6] स्वयोन्युत्तरयोर्भवेत् ॥ २९३ ॥

ग्रहान्यत्वेऽपि[7] विकृतिर्नैव स्यात् स्तोत्रशस्त्रयोः ।
ऊह आज्यपशब्दस्य पृषदाज्ये न विद्यते ॥ २९४ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ अथ पञ्चमः पादः ॥

आदितः स्यादुपादानं त्रिकपालादिषु क्रमात् ।
एकत्रिकक्रतोर्मध्यंदिनमाद्ये तृचे मतः[8] ॥ २९५ ॥

तस्मिन् धूर्गानमभ्याससंपाद्यं तृचसंश्रयम्[9] ।
दशरात्रोऽहर्गणेषु मध्यमः संप्रवर्तते ॥ २९६ ॥

नाद्योपादाननियमो मन्त्रेष्वाधूननादिषु ।
[10]सामागमेन संख्यायाः पूरणं स्तोमवृद्धिषु[11] ॥ २९७ ॥

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1. T, A and A¹. गुणो बुधन्वत्तादि-
2. T, A and LV. ष्वाज्यभागयोः
3. G. स्पत्योः
4. T, A and A¹. भिधान्यां
5. G. सर्वेषु ह्यगुणाः
6. A. तद्वत्
7. G. त्वेन
8. A¹. दिन आद्ये तृचो मताः
   G. आद्या तृचोः मतः
9. G. सावनः
10. A¹. स्तोमागमेन
11. A. स्तोत्रवृद्धिषु
    A¹. स्तोमविद्धिषु

भवेदेतस्य[1] तु बहिष्पवमानेष्वृगागमः ।
[2]आग्नेयिनामागमः स्यात् सामिधेनीविवृद्धिषु ॥ २९८ ॥

षोडशी प्रकृतावेव स्याद्राजन्यनिमित्तकः ।
तद्ग्रहः स्यादाग्रयणात् तृतीयसवने तु सः ॥ २९९ ॥

स राजन्यनिमित्तोऽपि भवेत् स स्तुतशस्त्रकः ।
सकलानां[3] द्विरात्राणामुत्तरेऽहन्ययं मतः ॥ ३०० ॥

अहीनस्य चतुर्थेऽहन्येकत्रैव भवेदसौ ।
उत्कृष्टव्याविषुवति त्वहन्याग्रयणाग्रता ॥ ३०१ ॥

जगत्यां [4]साम यच्च स्याज्जगत्साम तदुच्यते ।
उपाग्रवत्योरग्रयत्वं[5] संभवादिषु [6]नो भवेत् ॥ ३०२ ॥

ग्राह्यस्वस्थान एवैन्द्रवायवः पाठलम्भिते ।
[7]गुणकामाधिकारेऽपि ग्राह्यः स्वस्थान एव सः ॥ ३०३ ॥

शुक्रमन्थ्यग्रहादेस्तु विधौ स्यात्प्रतिकर्षणम्[8] ।
तदैन्द्रवायवात् पूर्वं कृष्यते सादनं तथा ॥ ३०४ ॥

[9]ग्रहसादनकर्षेऽपि प्रदानं नैव[10] कृष्यते ।
[11]त्र्यनीकायामादितोऽह्नोरनिमित्तोग्रताविधिः ॥ ३०५ ॥

व्यूढो विकारोऽनीकानां गव्ये स्वस्थानवृद्धयः ।
छन्दोव्यतिक्रमो व्यूढो मन्त्रैकविषयो मतः ॥ ३०६ ॥

॥ इति पञ्चमः पादः ॥

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1. A[1] and G. देतासु
2. G. आग्नेयाना-
3. G. सामान्येन
4. A, A[1] and T. सामगच्च
   G. उदयश्चा
5. A, A[1] and T. अग्रत्वं
6. A, A[1], G and T. संसवादिषु
7. G. गुणाणाम
8. A. A[1], T and LV omit this ardha,
9. G. ग्रहाणां न विकर्षे
10. A. नाम
11. T and LV. त्र्यणी
    G. त्र्यनीकानामा-

॥ अथ षष्ठः पादः ॥

बृहद्रथन्तरादीनां गानं कार्यं तृचे मतम् ।
कालार्थ एव संयोगो[1] वीक्षणं स्वर्दृशोर्भवेत् ॥ ३०७ ॥

गव्यादिपृष्ठ्यषडहे नान्वहं पृष्ठसामनी ।
द्वादशाहैकादशिन्यां विभज्यालम्भ इष्यते ॥ ३०८ ॥

[2]न पृष्ठ्यानां विश्वजिति [3]पृष्ठस्तोत्रे निवेशनम् ।
[4]वैरूपसामेत्यादौ स्यात् [5]पृष्ठ एव निवेशनत् ॥ ३०९ ॥

त्रिवृदग्निष्टुदित्यादौ स्तोत्रीया नवके त्रिवृत्[6] ।
सामद्वयं संसवादौ पृष्ठस्तोत्रस्य साधनम् ॥ ३१० ॥

षडहे[7] प्रातिलोम्येऽपि तदन्ते मधुभोजनम् ।
आवृत्तिः षडहावृत्तौ [8]न मध्वाशस्य युज्यते[9] ॥ ३११ ॥

[10]व्यपेतषडहावृत्तौ तस्याप्यावृत्तिरापतेत् ।
सत्रेऽपि स्यान्मध्वशनं मानसं नाहरन्तरम् ॥ ३१२ ॥

सत्राणि बहवः कुर्युस्त एवार्त्विज्यकारिणः ।
सत्राहीनावभिमतावासियाज्यादिलक्षणौ ॥ ३१३ ॥

न भिन्ने[11] प्रत्यहं पौण्डरीकेऽयुतसहस्रके[12] ।
विभज्य नयनं तेषां न सर्वाः स्युर्मनोर्‌ऋचः ॥ ३१४ ॥

मानोपहृत्योर्वासः स्यादहीने न तु[13] भिद्यते ।
स्यादुपावहृतेरेव काले तद्वाससो ग्रहः ॥ ३१५ ॥

॥ इति षष्ठः पादः ॥

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1. A. A¹. and T. संबन्धो
2. A. निपृष्ठानां
3. A¹. ब्रह्मस्तोत्रे
   T. बृहत्स्तोत्रे
4. T and G omit this ardha.
5. A¹. ब्राह्म एव
6. A. नवकं मतम्
7. T. षडहप्राति-
   LV. षडहन्प्राति-
8. A omits न मध्वाशस्य
   A¹ omits this and the next pāda.
9. T. विद्यते
10. T. अव्यासे
11. G. भिन्यात्
12. G. स्रकम्
13. A, A¹ and T. तत्तु

॥ अथ सप्तमः पादः ॥

पश्वङ्गानि हवींषि स्युः [1]तान्यप्येकादशैव तु ।
[2]नेज्याशेषात् स्विष्टकृदध्यूध्नीहोत्रैडविक्रिया ॥ ३१६ ॥

वनिष्टुर्निहितः पात्रेऽप्याग्नीध्रैडस्य[3] विक्रिया ।
प्रैषानुवचनाभ्यां स्यात् प्रशास्तुरपि भक्षणम् ॥ ३१७ ॥

स भक्षयेद्भागमेकं कुर्वन्[4] कार्यद्वयीमपि ।
भक्षः प्रतिप्रस्थातुर्न वपाश्रपणकारिणः ॥ ३१८ ॥

अपूर्वो गृहमेधीय आज्यभागविधानतः ।
ततोऽधिकं यावदुक्तं स्यात् स्विष्टकृदिडादिकम् ॥ ३१९ ॥

स्विष्टकृत्परिसंख्यात्वे प्राशित्रादि निवारयेत्[5] ।
प्रायणीयातिथ्ययोर्न विकल्पे[6] शंय्विडान्तरे ॥ ३२० ॥

पूर्वाभ्यामेव तु तयोः शंय्विडाभ्यां समापनम् ।
स्युरपूर्वा उपसदः स्रौवाघारविधानतः ॥ ३२१ ॥

अपूर्वोऽवभृथोऽपि स्यादाज्यभागविधानतः ।
बृहद्यवादि नियतं यत्र तस्य पुनर्विधिः ॥ ३२२ ॥

प्राकृतानां विकल्पादिर्न[7] श्रुतैर्द्रव्यदैवतैः ।
नाप्यौदुम्बरयूपेन खादिरस्य समुच्चयः ॥ ३२३ ॥

बाधन्ते वैकृतः शुक्ला व्रीहयः प्राकृतान्यवत्[8] ।
सर्वेषु पञ्चावत्तत्वं पश्वङ्गेषु प्रवर्तते ॥ ३२४ ॥

॥ इति सप्तमः पादः ॥

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1. A and T. तान्यथै-
2. T. इज्याशेषात् स्विष्टकृन्न होत्रे ध्यद्धिस्तु विक्रिया
   A. इज्या....कृदध्नूध्नि षडहवि-क्रिया
   A[1]. नेज्याशेषा स्विष्टकृतीः अध्युद्धिस्तु होत्रैव विक्रिया
3. T. द्धेतस्य
4. G. तृप्त्या
   A. पौण्ड्रस्य
5. T. दीर्न वारयेत्
6. G. तद्विधा
7. A. विकल्पः स्यान्न
   LV. त्रादिं निवारस्येत्
8. T. G and A[1]. प्राकृतान्यवान्
   A. प्राकृतानुयात्

॥ अथाष्टमः पादः ॥

पर्युदासो न होतारं न सोम[1] इति तु स्तुतिः ।
नातिरात्रे निषेधः स्यादनाहुतिरिति स्तुतिः ॥ ३२५ ॥

अभिघार्या नाभिघार्या इत्याद्यापि स्तुतिर्भवेत् ।
अग्न्याधेये सामगानां न ब्रह्मेति निषिध्यते ॥ ३२६ ॥

दीक्षितो न जुहोतीति पुरुषार्थो निषिध्यते ।
पदेनाहवनीयस्य सामान्यस्य निवर्तनम् ॥ ३२७ ॥

वैमृधादौ सामिधेनीसाप्तदश्योपसंहृतिः ।
न भवेद्दर्विहोमेषु स्वाहाकारोपसंहृतिः ॥ ३२८ ॥

अग्न्यतिग्राह्ययोरस्ति विकृतावतिदेशनम् ।
स्याद्द्विरेवावदातव्यं पुरोडाशादिकं हविः ॥ ३२९ ॥

चतुर्गृहीतं तु भवेदुपांशुयजने हविः ।
सान्नाय्ये न त्विति विधेः पूर्वभागो[2] भवेत् स्तुतिः[3] ॥ ३३० ॥

उपांशुयाजे स्यादाज्यं हविर्ध्रौवविधानतः ।
देवता तत्र तु भवेत्तान्त्रिकेष्वेव[5] काचन ॥ ३३१ ॥

तत्रापि स्युर्विकल्पेन तिस्रो विष्ण्वादिदेवताः ।
स पौर्णमास्यामेव स्यादपि प्राक्सोमयागतः ॥ ३३२ ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमः पादः ॥

॥ इति दशमोऽध्ययः ॥

॥ अथैकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

आग्नेयादिफलं तन्त्रं भाष्येऽङ्गोपकृतिस्तथा ।
सा भवेदखिलैरङ्गैः काम्यावृत्त्यादिकं[6] फलम् ॥ ३३३ ॥

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1. T. होम
   A. स्तोम
2. T. भागे
3. G. विदिः द्रव्यं
4. G omits this adrha.
   G omits this and the next ardha.
5. T and A. मान्त्रिकीषु च.
   A¹. मान्त्रिकेष्वेव
6. LV. धिकं

यावत्फलोदयं हन्ति सकृत्सवौंषधे[1] त्वसौ ।
सकृदङ्गानुष्ठितिः स्यात् त्रयः कार्याः[2] कपिञ्जलाः ॥ ३३४ ॥

यावत्स्वं दोहने गावो दर्शाङ्गानां तु तन्त्रता ।
[3]सह प्रदानं व्यवधेर्न कृष्णग्रीवयोर्भवेत् ॥ ३३५ ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

स्याद्देशकालकर्तॄणामाग्नेयादिषु तन्त्रता ।
अङ्गानां मुख्यदेशाद्याः स्युः प्रयोगाङ्गभावतः ॥ ३३६ ॥

दर्शे च पूर्णमासे च नाङ्गानामस्ति तन्त्रता ।
हविष्ष्वध्वरकल्पायामप्येवं[4] सङ्घभेदतः ॥ ३३७ ॥

प्राजापत्ये पशुगणे भवेत्तन्त्रं वसाहुतिः[5] ।
भवेद्यपाहुतिस्तन्त्रं यूपैकादशिनी गता ॥ ३३८ ॥

अप्स्वेवावभृथस्य स्यादङ्गानामप्यनुष्ठितिः ।
अङ्गावृत्तिर्देशभेदात् प्रघासेषु विहारयोः ॥ ३३९ ॥

तन्त्रेणैवोपकुर्वन्ति [6]तयोर्ब्रह्मादयस्तथा[7] ।
[8]आपराग्निकहोमानामावृत्तिः[9] कर्तृभेदतः ॥ ३४० ॥

ब्रह्मसाम्नीत्येष विधिरालम्भोत्कर्षगोचरः ।
त्रींस्त्रीनिति विधिस्त्वेषः स्यात् पश्वन्तरगोचरः ॥ ३४१ ॥

अङ्गानां दशपेयाभिषेचनीयेन तन्त्रता ।
निष्कासेनेति वारुण्या न प्रचारान्तरे विधिः ॥ ३४२ ॥

निष्कास इत्यपि तथा नैव कर्मान्तरे विधिः ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

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1. T and A¹. च्वसौ
2. T and A¹. तयोर्ग्राह्याः
   LV. यत्र कार्याः
3. T. सह प्रदानं हविषोः
   A. सदोहव्यवधानेन
   A¹. सकृत्प्रदानव्यवधेः
   G omits this and the next ardha.
4. G. या अप्येवं
5. G. adds भिन्नदेवेषु पशुषु न सा तन्त्रत्वमश्नुते ।
6. T. द्वयोः
7. T. तयोः
8. LV. अपरा-
9. G. मानो त्वावृत्तिः

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

वेद्यादेर्वचनान्मुख्यभिन्नकालादिसङ्गतिः ॥ ३४३ ॥

सर्वेषु तन्त्रमाधानं यूपः सोमपशुत्रये ।
तत्तत्क्षणाद्यपि तथा तन्त्रं स्यादपि तत्स्वरुः ॥ ३४४ ॥

अहर्गणे विषाणायाः प्रासनं चरमेऽहनि ।
अन्याह्वाने वाग्विसर्गे[1] नानाबीजावहन्तिषु ॥ ३४५ ॥

पशौ[2] पौरोडाशिके स्यादाह्वाने वाग्विसर्जनम् ।
प्रधानमात्रापवर्गे [3]भवेद्वाग्निविमोचनम् ॥ ३४६ ॥

[4]साङ्गान्तेऽग्निविमोको हि वार्तिके संप्रदर्शितः ।
सुब्रह्मण्योपसत्काला तन्त्रेण स्यादहर्गणे ॥ ६४७ ॥

भिद्येत सुत्याकाला[5] तु कालभेदेन सान्वहम् ।
[6]प्रतिप्रयोगं देशादिभेदापेक्षा न युज्यते[7] ॥ ३४८ ॥

आन्तात्पात्राणि धार्येरन् प्रतिपत्तिविधानतः ।
आरभ्य पवमानेष्टिं भवत्येषां विधारणम्[8] ॥ ३४९ ॥

ऊर्ध्वं सकलसोमानां प्राजापत्यप्रचारणम् ।
उत्कृष्यन्ते पदापेक्षाः शब्दा हरिवादादयः ॥ ३५० ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

अङ्गावृत्तिः कर्तृभेदात् भिन्नदक्षिणकर्मणाम् ।
राजसूये कर्तृभेदेऽप्यधिष्ठानं न भिद्यते ॥ ३५१ ॥

भवत्यवेष्टौ पञ्चानां हविषां भिन्नतन्त्रता ।
कामाय तन्त्रभेदः [9]स्यात्पवमानहविस्त्रये ॥ ३५२ ॥

[10]स्युर्द्वादशाहसुत्यानां तन्त्रं दीक्षोपसद्गुणाः[11] ।

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1. A. वाग्नि
   T and A¹. वाग्विसर्गो
2. LV. शेषौ
3. T. भवेच्चा
4. T, G and A¹ omit this ardha.
5. LV. कालानु
6. G. काले
   LV. प्रतियोगमंशा
7. T, G, A, and A¹. विद्यते
8. T. त्येषा विधारणा
9. A. स्यात्पावमान
10. T, G and A¹. स्यात्
11. A. गुणः

सुत्याकालास्तु भिद्यन्ते सवनीयादिका गुणाः ॥ ३५३ ॥

सुब्रह्मण्योपसत्काला नाह्वामभ्यासमृच्छति[1] ।
कुम्भीहृदयशूलाद्यास्तन्त्रं स्युः पाशुके गणे ॥ ३५४ ॥

तथैव भिन्नदैवत्ये न तु जात्यन्तरे तथा ।
कपालानि न तन्त्रं स्युरनेकाश्वप्रतिग्रहे ॥ ३५५ ॥

सकृद्भवेद्धन्तिमन्त्रः[2] नानबीजेषु भिद्यते ।
निर्वापादिबहुत्वेन तन्मन्त्रावृत्तिरिष्यते ॥ ३५६ ॥

त्रिर्वेदिं प्रोक्षतीत्यादौ मन्त्र[3] आदौ सकृद्भवेत् ।
कण्डूनां यौगपद्यं तत् कृष्यै त्वेति मनुः सकृत् ॥ ३५७ ॥

सकृन्मध्ये प्रबोधादावपि स्वप्रादिमन्त्रकः ।
सकृत् प्रस्थानमन्त्रः स्याद्विश्रम्य गमनेष्वपि ॥ ३५८ ॥

भिद्यते प्रत्युपरवं मन्त्रः खननसाधनः ।
हविष्कृदध्रिगुमुखा भिद्यन्ते कालभेदतः ॥ ३५९ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ इत्येकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ अथ द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

पश्वर्थानुष्ठितैरङ्गैः [4]पुरोडाशेऽस्त्युपक्रिया ।
तत्राज्यभागौ कर्तव्यौ स्यातां तौ न पशौ यदि ॥ ३६० ॥

सौमिकेष्टिषु वेदिः स्यात्तत्पात्राणि तु नेष्टिषु ।
शामित्रोऽग्निः पुरोडाशश्रपणे न[5] प्रसज्यते ॥ ३६१ ॥

श्रप्यं[6] प्राजहिते कौण्डपायिनामयनं हविः ।
सवनीयादिनिर्वापो न हविर्धानयोर्भवेत् ॥ ३६२ ॥

1. LV. ऋध्यति
2. T. सकृदुद्धन्तिमन्त्रोऽपि
A and A[1]. सकृद्भवेत्तत मन्त्रो
LV. सकृद्भवेद्धक्ति-
3. G. आधानकृ-
4. G पौरोडाशे
5. A. and LV. श्रयणेन
6. A. and A[1]. श्रव्यं

प्रायणीयादिषु पृथग्जागरः सौमिकाद्भवेत् ।
अध्वर्युमन्त्रा भिन्नाः स्युः प्राघासिकविहारयोः ॥ ३६३ ॥

इष्टिकर्मसु सोमाङ्गेष्वन्वाधानं न विद्यते[1] ।
व्रतोपायनमप्येवं सोमार्थेनैव सिद्धितः ॥ ३६४ ॥

ग्रहणार्थान्वाहितिश्चेत्[2] दीक्षेष्टौ सा परा[3] भवेत् ।
सोमेष्टिषु न कर्तव्यं पत्नीसन्नहनं तथा ॥ ३६५ ॥

आरण्यभुक्तिरप्येवं कर्तव्यं शेषभक्षणम् ।
अन्वाहार्यं न दातव्यं भक्षणं त्वृत्विजां भवेत् ॥ ३६६ ॥

एतासु होतुर्वरणमदृष्टार्थत्वतो भवेत् ।
प्रोक्षणं सकृदेव स्यादातिथ्येष्ट्यादिबर्हिषाम् ॥ ३६७ ॥

तस्यास्तरणसन्त्रः स्यादावर्त्यः पशुकर्मणि ।
पशौ [4]सन्नाहहरणमन्त्रयोर्नास्त्यनुष्ठितिः ॥ ३६८ ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

अग्नयो गार्हपत्याद्या वैदिकेष्वेव कर्मसु ।
नियतः स्यात् पुरोडाशः सवनीयपशावपि ॥ ३६९ ॥

सवनीयेषु न पृथगाह्वानं स्याद्धविष्कृतः ।
[5]तथैव सौम्यचर्वादौ[6] पाशुकेनैव सिद्धितः ॥ ३७० ॥

निशीष्टौ दर्शसंयुक्तमङ्गजातं[7] प्रसज्यते ।
नारम्भणीया विकृतौ [8]प्रकृत्यर्था प्रसज्यते[9] ॥ ३७१ ॥

विरुद्धसमवाये स्याद्भूयसामनुरोधनम् ।
तत्र तत्समतायां तु भवेन्मुख्यानुरोधनम् ॥ ३७२ ॥

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1. T and A . भिद्यते
2. A. न्याहितिश्चेत्
   A¹. न्वाहितश्चेत्
3. T. A and A¹. परं
4. G. सान्नाय्य
5. A¹ omits this pāda.
6. A. विकृतौ
7. A¹ omits अङ्गजातं...रोधनम्
8. T. विकृत्यर्था
9. LV. त्र सजते

सुत्यायां नियतं पर्व द्विधर्मा परिधिर्भवेत् ।
तत्र न स्युर्यूपधर्मा ये[1] स्वधर्मविरोधिनः ॥ ३७३ ॥

[2]पशुतन्त्रान्तर्गतत्वात् सवनीयाः[3] प्रसङ्गिणः ।
विकृतिश्चेत् प्रकृत्येकतन्त्रा सा तन्त्रिणी भवेत् ॥ ३७४ ॥

बर्हिराग्रयणे कांस्यभोजिन्यायेन पुष्पितम् ।
द्यावापृथिव्यस्यैव[4] स्यात्तावता नैव तन्त्रिता[5] ॥ ३७५ ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

वत्सत्वग्वाससोर्भिन्नकार्यत्वेन समुच्चयः ।
अग्नौ दैक्षपशोस्तन्त्रे [6]पश्वङ्गिहविरष्टकम् ॥ ३७६ ॥

समुच्चिता ऋजुत्वाद्या व्रीह्याद्यास्तु विकल्पिताः ।
वैश्वानरी पाथिकृतीत्याद्या अपि विकल्पिताः ॥ ३७७ ॥

भिन्नस्कन्नादिहोमानां दर्शादिषु समुच्चयः ।
मन्त्राध्ययनधर्माणां कर्मकालेषु नादरः ॥ ३७८ ॥

कार्यं प्रयोगमन्त्राणां स्वस्वरेणैव कर्मसु ।
ये पुनर्ब्राह्मणाधीतास्तेषां भवति तत्स्वरः ॥ ३७९ ॥

मन्त्राणामवसानेन कर्मादीन् सन्निपातयेत् ।
समान एव न्यायोऽयं वसुधाराहुतीष्वपि ॥ ३८० ॥

स्यादाधारेऽप्ययं न्यायो मन्त्रा ग्राह्या विकल्पिताः ।
चतुर्भिरभ्रिमित्यादौ भवेत्तेषां समुच्चयः ॥ ३८१ ॥

[7]उरुप्रथस्वेत्यादीनां न भवेत्तु समुच्चयः ।
समुच्चयो भवेदेव क्रियमाणानुवादिनाम् ॥ ३८२ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

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1. A. यैश्च
2. LV. पुरोडाशाः
3. A¹ omits पशुतन्त्र...विकृतिश्चेत्
4. T. स्यैतत्
5. A and A¹. तन्त्रता
6. T. तत्र प्रसङ्गि
   A. तन्त्रे प्रसङ्गि
7. T. उरुप्रथेत्यर्थवादो लिङ्गान्न तु

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

जपस्तुत्यादिमन्त्राणां धर्मार्थत्वात् समुच्चयः ।
याज्यानुवाक्यायुगलमनेकं स्याद्विकल्पितम् ॥ ३८३ ॥

समुच्चेयाः क्रयाः सोमे गुदयागे[1] समुच्चयः ।
अग्न्याधेये दक्षिणाः स्युः संख्याभेदाद्विकल्पिताः ॥ ३८४ ॥

जाघनीनां पशुगणे न भवेत्तु समुच्चयः ।
[2]वाक्ष्र्यादिना स्यात् काम्येन [3]नित्योख्यविनिवर्तनम् ॥ ३८५ ॥

काम्यो नाहवनीयः स्यादाधानादेरभावतः ।
तेषु नाधानसंस्कारो नित्योख्यस्य न धारणम् ॥ ३८६ ॥

कश्चिदेव पदार्थानि कुर्याद्बहुषु यष्टृषु ।
तेषु यः कश्चिदेव स्यात् सत्रे गृहपतिर्मतः ॥ ३८७ ॥

सर्वेऽपि सत्रे कुर्वीरन् संस्कारानञ्जनादिकान् ।
याजमानार्त्विज्ययोर्विप्रतिषेधे परं बली[4] ॥ ३८८ ॥

आर्त्विज्यं ब्राह्मणा एव कुर्युः सर्वेषु कर्मसु ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

इति श्रीमद्वैतविद्याचार्यश्रीरङ्गराजाध्वरिसूनोः
अप्पय्यदीक्षितस्य कृतौ चित्रपटे
द्वादशोऽध्यायः

॥ चित्रपटः समाप्तः ॥

1. G. गुणयोगे
2. G. वात्या-
3. A. वित्याख्यस्य निवर्तनम्
4. A. बलम्

Kāl.

Ūr-k-kāl cēy.

(Land near the end of the village.)

Puṟam.

Ūr-k-kaṇ maram.

(The tree outside the village.)

Akam.

Eyiṟ-kaṭ pukkāṉ.

(He entered into the fort.)

Uḷ.

Iṟ-kaṇ iruntāṉ.

(He was within the house.)

Uḻai.

Aracaṉ-kaṇ iruntāṉ.

(He was near the king.)

Kīḻ.

Ā āliṉ-kaṭ kiṭantatu.

(Cow lay at the foot of the banyan tree.)

Mēl.

Kuraṅku marattiṉ-kaṇ iruntatu.

(Monkey was at the top of the tree.)

Piṉ.

Ēr-k-kaṭ ceṉṟāṉ.

(He went behind the plough.)

Cār.

Kāṭṭiṉ-kaṇ ōṭum.

(He runs through the land adjoining the forest.)

Ayal.

Cirāppaḷḷi-k-kuṉṟu uṟaiyūr-k-kaṇ uḷatu.

(The hill at Trichinopoly is near Uṟaiyūr.)

Puṭai.

Eyiṟ-kaṇ niṉṟār.

(They stood away from the fort.)

Tēvakai.

Vaṭakkaṇ Vēṅkaṭam.

(Veṅkaṭam on the north.)

Muṉ.

Puli-k-kaṭ paṭṭāṉ.

(He happened to stand before a tiger.)

Talai, Iṭai, Kaṭai.

Nūṟ-kaṇ maṅkalam.

(The auspicious ornaments at the beginning, middle or end.)

Valam.

Āciriyaṉ māṇākkariṉ-kaṇ niṉṟāṉ.

(Teacher stood to the right of pupils.)

Iṭam.

Māṇākkar āciriyaṉ-kaṇ niṉṟār.

(Pupils stood to the left of the teacher.)

Note 1.—Cēṉāvaraiyar has taken this sūtra to deal with the specialised meanings of the locative in the same way as the sūtras 72, 74, 76, 78 and 80 which respectively deal with the specialised meanings of the accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative and genitive cases. Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar think that this sūtra deals with the different words like *kaṇ*, *kāl* etc. which serve as locative case-suffixes. Teyvaccilaiyār's opinion is that both are dealt with here. The defects in the interpretation of Iḷampūraṇar are:—(1) If this sūtra deals with case-suffixes, the word *kaṇ* which has been mentioned in the previous sūtra is unnecessary here; (2) the word *tēvakai* is not used as case-suffix and hence it should be taken to mean the *meaning* of the locative suffix; (3) since Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with the meanings of the different case-suffixes in the sūtras 72, 74, 76, 78 and 80, it is fair that he deals with the meaning of the locative suffix here; (4) in expressions like *ūr-p-puṟattu iruntāṉ*, if *puṟam* is taken as a locative suffix, the *cāriyai 'attu'* cannot come after it since it is enjoined in the sūtra.

Avaṟṟuvaḻi maruṅkiṟ cāriyai varumē. (Tol. Eḻut. 118.)

that it comes only between the noun and the case-suffix; (5) Tolkāppiyaṉār has not stated the *collurupū* in other cases. Of these the defects (1) and (4) have been mentioned by Cēṉāvaraiyar. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar condemns Cēṉāvaraiyar thus—(1) If *kaṇ* in this sūtra denotes place, it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra; (2) There is no usage like '*marattukkaṭ kuraṅkū*' etc.; (3) Instead of the expression '*kaṇ-ṇ-akaṉ-ñālam* (wide place) one should use '*kaṇ-kaṇ akaṟūu-ñālam.*' The first argument is baseless since '*kaṇ*' in the previous sūtra is the case-suffix and '*kaṇ*' in this sūtra is its meaning. The second argument falls to the ground since Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar himself has given '*marattu-k-kaṭ kuraṅkū*' as an example under the sūtra

Peyarun tolilum pirintoruṅ k-icaippa
Uṭaimaiyu m-iṉmaiyu m-oṭuvayi ṉ-okkum. (Tol. Eḻut. 132.)

In the expression *kaṇ-ṇ-akaṉ ñālam*, the word *kaṇ* may be taken as a noun meaning place or centre so that the expression may mean *iṭam akaṉṟa pūmi*, though Cēṉāvaraiyar takes *kaṇ* as an *iṭai-c-col*. Expressions where *kaṇ* is used as a noun are plenty. cf. *'paṟṟaṟṟa kaṇṇum'* (Kuṟaḷ, 521) (in places or persons deprived of wealth). If so the third objection also cannot stand. Hence the interpretation given by Cēṉāvaraiyar seems to be the correct one. The author of the Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam agrees with Cēṉāvaraiyar.

Note 2.—The words *kaṇ, talai*, etc. are all nouns denoting place. cf. *'paṟṟaṟṟa kaṇṇum'* (Kuṟaḷ, 521); *'Naṉan-talai-nal-l-eyil'* (Puṟa. 15) (the five fort with its head wide or a very wide and fine fort). In many cases when words compounded with them were used after the verbs, the seventh case-suffix was dropped on the strength of the sūtra

Aiyuṅ kaṇṇu m-allā-p poruḷvayiṉ
Meyyurupu tokāa v-iṟuti y-āṉa. (Tol. Col. 105.)

Ex. *alaṅ-kaṭai-ē-* (Tol. Eḻut. 1, 30, 62, 72, 434). for (*alaṅ-kaṭai-k-kaṇ-ṇ-ē*); *Poruḷ vayiṉ* for *poruḷ-vayiṉ-kaṇ* (Tol. Col. 051.) etc. Even in the absence of the locative case-suffix, since the locative meaning was present and the words *kaṇ, kāl, kaṭai, vayiṉ*, etc. denoted place, they were mistook for the case-suffixes in later period.

Note 3.—The expression *aṉṉa-piṟa* in the sūtra may refer to words like *kaṭai, kayiṉ, mukam, il, maruṅku, vaḻi*, etc.

Note 4.—In Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary the following passage is found:—' *Muṉ iraṇṭāvatu mutaliya urupukaḷai muṭit-taṟku etuttōtiya kāppu-mutaliya poruḷkaḷai-p-pōla urupai-muṭittu nillātu īṇṭu-k-kūṟiya poruḷkaḷ kaṇ-ṇ-eṉṉum urupaiyē uṇartti niṉṟaṉa eṉṟaliṟ cēṉāvaraiyarum i-p-poruḷkaḷai urupeṉṟē kūṟiṉār āyiṟṟu. Aṅ-ṅaṉaṅ kūṟi attu-c-cariyai koṭuttu utāraṇaṅ kāṭṭavē urupiṉ piṉṉarum attu-c-cāriyai varutal tāṉum nērntār-āyiṟṟu.* (Since Cēṉāvaraiyar says that this sūtra deals with the meanings of the suffix *kaṇ* as the sūtras commencing with *kāppu* etc. deal with those of other cases, he too thinks these meanings as case-suffixes. If so the *cariyai 'attu'* comes after case-suffixes.) Here the statement ' he too thinks these meanings as case-suffixes' conveys no meaning. Hence this passage seems to me to be an

interpolation. Another reason that may be cited in favour of it is that his condemnation of Cēṉāvaraiyar seems to have ended before the commencement of this passage.

83. வேற்றுமைப் பொருளை விரிக்குங் காலை
ஈற்றுநின் றியலுந் தொகைவயிற் பிரிந்து
பல்லா றாகப் பொருள்புணர்ந் திசைக்கும்
எல்லாச் சொல்லு முரிய வென்ப.
Vēṟṟumai-p poruḷai virikkuṅ kālai
Īṟṟu-niṉ ṟiyalun tokai-vayiṟ pirintu
Pallā ṟ-āka-p poruḷ-puṇarn t-icaikkum
Ellā-c collu m-uriya v-eṉpa.

When one wants to expatiate the meanings of the cases mentioned above, it is said that all words which are synonomous with the words found (in sūtras 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82) have to be added to the list of words found in each of them.

Note 1.—The meaning given above is that given by *Civañāṉa-muṉivar*. I have preferred that meaning since it is the only one that fits in here. The meaning given by each of the other commentators is defective.

Iḷampūraṇar splits the sūtra into two sūtras the first two lines forming one with the difference that *pirintē* is substituted for *pirintù* and the last two lines forming the second. The meaning is that if a *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* or a *tatpuruṣa* compound is split a number of words may have to be inserted in addition to the case-suffix. For instance when the word *poṟṟoṭi* (golden bracelet) is split, it has to be split as *poṉṉāl ākiya toṭi*, where the word *ākiya* is inserted and so on. The same is the meaning given by Teyvac-cilaiyār though he takes all the four lines into one sūtra with the word *pirintù* at the end of the second line.

Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, on the other hand, state that when a *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* (*tatpuruṣa* compound) and an *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* (*bahuvrīhi* compound) are split, a number of words has to be inserted. The difference between Iḷampūraṇar and Cēṉāvaraiyar is that the former thinks that this sūtra deals how the *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* alone is split and the latter how both *vēṟṟu-mait-tokai* and *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* are split.

One important defect in these two meanings is that they are out of place. This *iyal* has been dealing with case-suffixes and the meanings of cases and never with the splitting of compounds. Other defects are:—(1) the word *vēṟṟumai-p-poruḷ* is taken to

mean *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* and the word *īṟṟu-niṉṟiyalun-tokai* to mean *aṉ-moḻi-t-tokai.* (2) The word *tokai* is taken to mean compound, though it may be taken here to mean collection. (3) Cēṉāvaraiyar feeling that, according to his interpretation, this sūtra is out of place says that because Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with *tokai-viri* in the following *vēṟṟumai-mayaṅkiyal*, he has written this sūtra here. But in the next section which contains 34 sūtras, only 7 sūtras from 94th to 100th deal with compounds; but even they do not seem to deal with *tokai-viri;* nor has Cēṉāvaraiyar brought in other words splitting the compounds.

Civañāṉamuṉivar condemns Cēṉāvaraiyar thus: (1) If the author meant *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* he would have said so instead of *vēṟṟumai-p-poruḷ.* (2) The compounds are dealt with in *ecca-v-iyal* and hence *vēṟṟumai-y-iyal* is not the proper place to deal with *tokai-viri* since it has to deal only with case-suffixes and the meanings of the cases; the *tokai-viri* of *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* is learnt from the word *vēṟṟumai-y-iyala* in the sūtra '*vēṟṟumai-t tokaiyē vēṟṟumai-y-iyala* (Tol. Col. 413); if it is said that the *tokai-viri* has to be definitely explained, there is no sūtra to explain the *tokai-viri* of *uvama-t-tokai.*

VĒṞṞUMAI-Y-IYAL ENDS.

COLLATIKĀRAM.

Vēṟṟumai-mayaṅkiyal.

(Chapter on contamination etc.)

84. கரும மல்லாச் சார்பென் கிளவிக்கு
உரிமையு முடைத்தே கண்ணென் வேற்றுமை.
Karuma m-allā-c cārpeṉ kiḷavikkŭ
Urimai-y-u m-uṭaittē kaṇ-ṇ-eṉ vēṟṟumai.

The seventh case also may be used to denote close relationship except direct impact.

Ex. *Aracar-kaṭ cārntāṉ* (He sided the King).

Note. 1.—This chapter deals primarily with the use of one case-suffix for another, (*i. e.*) with contamination. It is called *uruþu-mayakkam* from the standpoint that one case-suffix is used for another and *poruḷ-mayakkam* from the standpoint that a case-suffix is used in a meaning other than its own. Since some of the cases are not dropped in Tamil as in Greek and Latin, there is no room for syncretism here.

Note. 2.—*Cārpù* is of two kinds:—*Karuma-c-cārpù* or impact and *karumam-il-cārpù* or close relation other than impact. This sūtra sanctions the use of the seventh case in addition to the second case sanctioned by 72nd sūtra in the case of the latter *cārpù*. Hence expressions like '*tūṇiṉ-kaṭ cārntāṉ*' (he came in contact with the pillar) is of later date.

Note. 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār says that *karumam* in this sūtra is a *tadbhava* of Skt. *karma* which means object of a transitive verb. But the word *karumam* means, in the opinion of others, *impact.*

Note. 4.—The particle *um* in this sūtra suggests that the use of the second case is more popular than that of the seventh case.

Note. 5.—This sūtra is a *viśeṣa-vidhi* to the general *vidhi* denoted by *cārtal* in the 72nd sūtra.

85. சினைநிலைக் கிளவிக் கையுங் கண்ணும்
வினைநிலை யொக்கு மென்மனார் புலவர்.
Ciṉai-nilai-k kiḷavi-k k-aiyuṅ kaṇṇum
Viṉai-nilai y-okku m-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that the seventh case is used in the same way as the second after words denoting parts when they qualify verbs other than appellative verbs.

Ex. *kōṭṭai-k-kuṟaittāṉ* (He cut off the tusk).
Kōṭṭiṉ-kaṭ kuṟaittāṉ (He cut off the tusk).

Note. 1.—The word *viṉai-nilai* means *teri-nilai-viṉai* and is the seventh case here with the suffix dropped; hence the above rule cannot operate if the word denoting part qualifies an appellative verb.

Note. 2.—Since this sūtra sanctions the use of the seventh case in place of the second in the same way as the previous one, one may think that this sūtra may be made one with the previous one. But the particle *um* in the previous sūtra suggests that the use of the seventh case in the previous instance is very rare and the use of *okkum* in this sūtra suggests that the use of the seventh case is as free as that of the second.

86. கன்றலுஞ் செலவு மொன்றுமார் வினையே.
Kaṉṟaluñ celavu m-oṉṟumār viṉaiyē.

Both the seventh and the second cases are used with verbs derived from roots *kaṉṟu-* and *cel.*

Ex. *Cūtiṉai-k-kaṉṟiṉāṉ; cūtiṉkaṭ kaṉṟiṉāṉ.*
(He has got a mastery over playing at dice.)

Ūrai-c-cellum; ūriṉkaṭ cellum.
(He goes to the village.)

Note. 1.—The words ஐயுங் கண்ணும் are taken over to this sūtra; they form the subject of *oṉṟumār;* the words *kaṉṟalum* and *celavum* are taken along with *viṉai* which is a word in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped.

Note. 2.—This sūtra sanctions the use of the seventh case-suffix also.

Note. 3.—This sūtra is not made one with the previous sūtra since that deals with the case-suffix affixed to words denoting parts irrespective of the verbs they qualify and this deals with the case-suffixes of the nouns which qualify the verbs derived from the roots *kaṉṟu-* and *cel.*

Note. 4.—Since the use of the second case-suffix was already sanctioned by the 72nd sūtra, it may be sufficient if the use of the seventh case-suffix is sanctioned by this sūtra. But the author has not done so lest one should consider the use of the former to be more frequent than that of the latter.

Note. 5.—In the Śaiva-siddhānta edition, the expression 'ஒரு தொழில்' should be corrected as 'ஒரு தொழில.'

87. முதற்சினைக் கிளவிக் கதுவென் வேற்றுமை
முதற்கண் வரினே சினைக்கை வருமே.
Mutaṟ-ciṉai-k kiḷavi-k k-atu-veṉ vēṟṟumai
Mutaṟkaṇ variṉē ciṉai-k-k-ai varumē.

If, in a sentence, there is mention denoting whole and part and the sixth case-suffix is used along with the word denoting the whole, the second case-suffix alone is used along with the word denoting the part.

Ex. *Yāṉaiyatu kōṭṭai-k kuṟaittāṉ.*
(He cut off the tusk of the elephant.)

Iḷampūraṇar says that this sūtra is a *puṟaṉaṭai* (exception) to the 85th sūtra. But Cēṉāvaraiyar says that this sūtra is a *niyama-vidhi* (*i. e.*) it restricts the application of the 85th sūtra. The opinion of the latter is the correct one.

88. முதன்மு னைவரிற் கண்ணென் வேற்றுமை
சினைமுன் வருத றெள்ளி தென்ப.
Mutaṉ-mu ṉ-ai-variṟ kaṉ-ṇ-eṉ vēṟṟumai
Ciṉai-muṉ varuta ṟeḷḷi t-eṉpa.

If the second case-suffix is used along with the word denoting the whole, the seventh case is used along with the word denoting the part.

Ex. *Yāṉaiyai-k kōṭṭiṉkaṭ kuṟaittāṉ.*
(He cut off the elephant at the tusk.)

Note. 1.—This sūtra also is a *niyamavidhi.*

Note. 2.—This sūtra and the previous one are taken as one sūtra by Teyvaccilaiyār. But since it gives room to sentence-split, it is not correct to do so.

Note. 3.—Since sūtras 85, 87 and 88 deal with words denoting whole and part, the sūtra 86 though it does not deal with whole part is read in the middle so that the words ஐயுங் கண்ணும் may follow in the 86th sūtra from the 85th sūtra.

Note. 4.—Since expressions like *'yāṉai-k kōṭṭai-k kuṟaittāṉ'* also began to be used before the time of Iḷampūraṇar, he states it as being suggested by the word *teḷḷitu.* But it is clear that such a usage was not current at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār.

Note. 5.—Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar takes the previous sūtra as mentioning *urupu-mayakkam* and this sūtra as *poruḷ-mayakkam.* I am unable to understand why a differentiation should be done.

89. முதலுஞ் சினையும் பொருள்வேறு படாஅ
நுவலுங் காலைச் சொற்குறிப் பினவே.
Mutaluñ ciṉaiyum poruḷ-vēṟu paṭāa
Nuvaluṅ kālai-c coṟ-kuṟip piṉavē.

An object cannot, by itself, be taken either as a whole or as a part. It should be suggested by the expression of the speaker.

For instance *yāṉai* is a whole in the sentence *yāṉaiyatu kōṭṭai-k kuṟaittāṉ,* but it is a part in the sentence *'paṭaiyatu yāṉaiyai akaṟṟiṉāṉ'* (he drove away the elephants of the army). Similarly in the former sentence *kōṭu* is a part; but in the sentence *'kōṭṭatu nuṉiyai-k kuṟaittāṉ* (he cut off the tip of the tusk), *kōṭu* is a whole and not a part.

Note. 1.—The expression பொருள் வேறுபடாஅ means 'they cannot be differentiated by their meaning'; hence பொருள் is a third case with the case-suffix dropped. The verb வேறுபடாஅ is active in form, but passive in meaning.

Note. 2.—This sūtra is intended to understand correctly that the whole and the part are only relative terms.

90. பிண்டப் பெயரு மாயிய றிரியா
பண்டியன் மருங்கின் மரீஇய மரபே.

Piṇṭa-p peyaru m-āyiya ṟiriyā
Paṇṭiyaṉ maruṅkiṉ marīiya marapē.

The word denoting collection is of the same nature and should be understood as such from the ancient usage.

Ex. Kuppaiyatu talaiyai-veṭṭiṉāṉ: kuppaiyai-t talaikkaṇ veṭṭiṉāṉ; kuppaiyai-t talaiyai veṭṭiṉāṉ.

(He cut off the top of the heap.)

Note 1.—It is worthy of note that Tolkāppiyaṉār did not consider a heap to be a whole.

Note 2.—The word பிண்டம் is a *tadbhava* of *piṇḍa*.

91. ஒருவினை யொடுச்சொ லுயர்பின் வழித்தே.
Oru-viṉai y-oṭu-c-co l-uyarpiṉ vaḻittē.

The suffix *oṭu* (of the third case) is used with the superior of the two when both do the same action.

Ex. Eṉ maṉaivi-y-oṭu makkaḷu nirampiṉar (Puṟa. 191, 3).
(My children were filled (with wisdom) along with my wife.)

Note 1.—The sūtras from 84 to 90 deal with the optional use of the seventh case in place of the second case. Then the author has taken to speak on the third case.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar interpret *uyarpiṉvaḻittu* as 'along with the superior' and Teyvaccilaiyār as 'along with that which adjoins the superior (*i.e.*) the inferior. In the instances where *oṭu* is used in ancient classics like Puṟanāṉūṟu, it is found along with the word denoting the superior. Hence the opinion of the former three seems to be sound. The reason why Teyvaccilaiyār has differed from them may be due to two reasons. Pāṇini has stated 'sahayuktē apradhānē' (Aṣṭādhyāyī II, 3, 19). Besides in sentences like

'Vanta nampiyai-t tampi taṉṉoṭu
Muntai nāṉ-maṟai muṉikku-k kāṭṭi
(Kamparāmāyaṇam I, Kaiyaṭai, 17.)

(Having shown to the sage well versed in the ancient four vedas, Rāma who came along with his brother.)

the suffix *oṭu* is used along with the word denoting the inferior. That he wants to follow Pāṇini is evident from his sentence 'I-p-poruḷ Pāṇiṉiyārkkum okkum'.

Note 3.—This sūtra should be taken along with '*Ataṉo ṭiyainta v-oru-viṉai-k kiḷavi*' in the 74th sūtra.

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Note 4.—Iḷampūraṇar explains the use of *oṭu* in the sentence *nāyoṭu nampi vantāṉ* (the master came with the dog) by saying that the dog deserved greater recognition for some reason or other —(perhaps gratitude). Cēṉāvaraiyar agrees with him in that point and adds that, if it is not the intention of the speaker, the suffix *oṭu* does not denote association.

Note 5.—Cēṉāvaraiyar raises the question why this sūtra was not stated next to the 74th sūtra and answers that *Vēṟṟumaiyiyal* deals with the cases and their meanings in a general manner and the specialised meanings and uses are dealt with only here.

92. மூன்றனு மைந்தனுந் தோன்றக் கூறிய
ஆக்கமொடு புணர்ந்த வேதுக் கிளவி
நோக்கோ ரனைய வென்மனார் புலவர்.
Mūṉṟaṉu m-aintaṉun tōṉṟa-k kūṟiya
Ākkamoṭu puṇarnta v-ētu-k kiḷavi
Nōkkō r-aṉaiya v-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that, on careful consideration, the use of the third case-suffix and that of the fifth case-suffix to denote cause when it qualifies a verb formed of the root *ā*-(meaning to become) is of the same nature.

Ex. (1) Vāṇikattāṉ āyiṉāṉ; Vāṇikattiṉ āyiṉāṉ
(He became a man on account of trade.)
(2) Vāṇikattāṉ āya poruḷ: Vaṇikattiṉ āya poruḷ.
(Wealth raised on account of trade.)

Note 1.—Cēṉāvaraiyar raises the doubt that this sūtra is unnecessary since it has been said that the third case as well as the fifth denotes cause in the sūtras

Ataṉ-viṉai-p-paṭutal-ataṉiṉ-ātal. (Col. 74.)

and

putumai-paḻamai-y-ākkam. (Col. 78.)

respectively and answers the same thus:—Since this chapter deals with *mayakkam* (contamination), the author has mentioned the same here and hence he cannot be charged of having repeated the same. But it seems to me that the same may be answered thus:—The statement *ataṉiṉ-ātal* in the 74th sūtra may mean only the cause and need not mean the cause when it is followed by the verb 'to become' and the statement *ākkam* means that the noun in the fifth case should be followed by any word derived from the root *ā*-. Hence one may think that, if a word denoting cause is followed by a word derived from the root *ā*, only the

fifth case-suffix should be used. This sūtra clears his doubt by saying that the third case-suffix also may be used in such instances.

Note 2.—The word *nōkkù* is a noun in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped.

93. இரண்டன் மருங்கி னோக்க னோக்கமவ்
விரண்டன் மருங்கி னேதுவு மாகும்.
Iraṇṭaṉ maruṅki ṉōkka ṉōkkam-av
V-iraṇṭaṉ maruṅki ṉ-ētu-v-u m-ākum.

The verb meaning to observe may be governed not only by a noun in the second case, but also in the third and fifth cases if the observation is not through the physical eye, but through the mind's eye.

Ex. Kōlāṉ, nōkki vāḻuṅ kuṭi; kōliṉ nōkki vāḻuṅ kuṭi.
(The subjects living expecting the righteous rule.)

Note 1.—*Nōkkam* (observation) is of two kinds:—*Nōkkiya nōkkam* (observation by the physical eye) and *Nōkkal-nōkkam* (observation not by the physical eye, *i.e.*, by the mind). This sūtra deals with the use of case-suffixes in the latter case.

Note 2.—One may question why this sūtra which deals with the optional use of the third case-suffix and the fifth case-suffix in the place of the second case-suffix was not placed after the 90th sūtra since it has been said that all the sūtras from 84 to 90 deal with the optional use of other case-suffixes in place of the second. It may have been placed there. But since it deals with the optional use of the third and fifth case-suffixes meaning cause and the 92nd sūtra also deals with them, it has been placed here.

94. தடுமாறு தொழிற்பெயர்க் கிரண்டும் மூன்றுங்
கடிநிலை யிலவே பொருள்வயி னான.
Taṭumāṟu toḻiṟ-peyar-k k-iraṇṭum mūṉṟuṅ
Kaṭi-nilai y-ilavē poruḷ-vayi ṉ-āṉa.

The noun (whose case-suffix is dropped) and about the nature of whose action it is difficult to decide is not prevented from being taken either as in the second case or as in the third from the sense.

Ex. In the sentence '*puli koṉṟa yāṉai*' it is difficult to decide whether the act of killing rests with the tiger or the elephant, since it is the genius of the Tamil language to use active forms in passive sense. If the act of killing rests with the tiger, the word *puli* should be taken as the noun in the third case so that the expression '*puli koṉṟa yāṉai*' means the elephant killed by the tiger;

if, on the other hand, the act of killing rests with the elephant, the word *puli* should be taken as the noun in the second case so that the same expression means the elephant that killed the tiger.

Note.—Though there is no contamination here, yet there is room to take the noun either as one case or as the other. Hence this sūtra finds a place in this chapter.

95. ஈற்றுப்பெயர் முன்னர் மெய்யறி பனுவலின்
வேற்றுமை தெரிப உணரு மோரே.
Īr̲r̲u-p-peyar mun̲n̲ar mey-y-ar̲i pan̲uvalin̲
Vēr̲r̲umai teripa v-uṇaru m-ōrē.

The intelligent will see the difference from what follows after the last word.

Ex. If one says '*puli kon̲r̲a yān̲ai vantatu*' it is evident that the elephant killed the tiger since otherwise it could not come. If, on the other hand, one says '*puli kon̲r̲a yān̲ai kiṭantatu*' it is evident that the elephant was killed by the tiger.

Note 1.—This sūtra answers the question which will arise from the previous sūtra 'How is one to decide whether the noun is in the second case or thethird ?'

Note 2.—In the previous sūtra, this sūtra and the following few sūtras I have followed the order adopted by Teyvaccilaiyār since it seems to be regular—contamination of the second case, the third case, the fourth case, the fifth case and the sixth case.

Note 3.—The word '*vēr̲r̲umai*' in this sūtra means *difference* and not *case*.

96. ஓம்படைக் கிளவிக் கையு மானுந்
தாம்பிரி விலவே தொகைவரு காலை.
Ōmpaṭai-k kiḷavi-k k-ai-y-u m-ān̲un
Tām-piri v-ila-v-ē tokai-varu kālai.

The noun which qualifies a verb meaning to protect may be in the second case or the third case when the case-suffix is dropped.

Ex. *Puli pōr̲r̲i vā* may mean 'be protecting a tiger' or remain protected by a tiger.

Note 1.—Cēn̲āvaraiyar takes the word *tokai* to mean *compound;* it seems it is quite sufficient if it is taken to mean *elision* (of case-suffix). According to him *puli-pōr̲r̲i* is a compound word like *nilan-kaṭantān̲*.

Note 2.—Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar reads *toka* instead of *tokai.* In the Damodaram Pillai edition of Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyam the reading

is '*oppa virintu*', while the manuscript in the Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, reads '*Oppa virintuḻi*'. The latter reading is better.

Note 3.—Since this sūtra and the sūtra commencing with *Taṭumāṟu-toḻiṟ-peyar* deal with the same cases, *ōmpaṭai-k-kiḷavi* may have been read along with *taṭumāṟu-toḻiṟ-peyar* and the two sūtras may have been read as one; but there is one difference; in the former sūtra there is the word *mūṉṟum* and in the latter *āṉum* and it has nowhere been said that the suffix *āṉ* belongs to the third case.

Note 4.—Cēṉāvaraiyar says that one may think that this sūtra may have been read with the sūtra commencing with '*Iraṇṭaṉ maruṅkiṉ*' and both may have been read as '*Iraṇṭaṉ maruṅkiṉ ṉōkka- ṉōkkamum—ōmpaṭai-k kiḷaviyu m-ētuvu m-ākum*'; if it was so done, *ōmpaṭai-k-kiḷavi* may be qualified by a noun in the fifth-case also. In order to avoid it, the author has not made them into one sūtra.

Note 5.—The word *tām* here is only for euphony.

97. குத்தொக வரூஉங் கொடையெதிர் கிளவி
அப்பொரு ளாறற் குரித்து மாகும்.
Ku-t-toka varūuṅ koṭai-y-etir kiḷavi
A-p-poru ḷ-āṟaṟ k-urittu m-ākum.

The word denoting the recipient of a gift which can afford to have the suffix *ku* dropped may take the sixth case-suffix also.

Ex. Instead of '*ṉākar-pali koṭuttāṉ*' (he gave an oblation to *nākar*) one may say *nākaratu pali koṭuttāṉ*.

Note 1.—Cēṉāvaraiyar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār say that this sūtra states that the compound *nākar-pali* may be split as *nākaratu pali*. According to them there is no sanction for the expression '*nākaratu pali*' in usage.

Note 2.—The word *koṭai-y-etir-kiḷavi* means the word denoting the recipient of a gift. The only place where the suffix *ku* may be dropped is in '*nākarkku-p pali koṭuttāṉ*. This sūtra enjoins that *nākaratu pali koṭuttāṉ* also may be used. It is worthy of note that *ku* cannot be elided in the expression '*pali nākarkku-k koṭuttāṉ*'.

Note 3.—In the Namasivaya Mudaliar's edition of *Iḷampūraṇam* the expression '*koṭai etirtal eṉpatu viḻuppam-uṭaiyārai nutaliyakkāṟ koṇṭuvaittu virumpi-k-koṭuttal*' is found. Here *koṭai-etirtal* should be replaced by *koṭai* since the statement '*viḻup-*

pam-uṭaiyārai..koṭuttal' is the meaning of *koṭai* and not of *koṭai-y-etirtal*. Hence the first meaning of the word *koṭai-y-etirtal* given in the Tamil Lexicon is incorrect.

Note 4.—Since the previous sūtra ended with the contamination of the third case, this sūtra deals with that of the fourth case.

Note 5.—The particle *'uru'* in the sūtra suggests that such a usage as *nākaratu pali* is rare.

98. அச்சக் கிளவிக் கைந்து மிரண்டும்
எச்ச மிலவே பொருள்வயி னான.
Acca-k kiḷavi-k k-aintu m-iraṇṭum
Ecca m-ilavē poruḷ-vayi ṉ-āṉa.

A verb denoting fear may be qualified by a noun either in the fifth case or the second case.

Ex. Paḻiyiṉ añcum; Paḻiyai añcum.
(He is afraid of calumny.)

Note 1.—Since the use of the fifth case is sanctioned by *'accam'* in the 78th stanza, one may doubt that the use of the second case-suffix sanctioned by 72nd sūtra is nullified. This sūtra removes his doubt.

Note 2.—Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar state that this sūtra enjoins that the compound word *paḻi-y-añcum* should be split as *paḻiyai añcum* also.

Note 3.—The use of such expressions as *'vaḷai-kaḻalutaṟku añca-vēṇṭā'* (one need not fear for the bracelets to slip down) shows that the fourth case also began to be used in later times.

Note 4.—This sūtra deals with the contamination of the fifth case.

99. அதுவென் வேற்றுமை யுயர்திணைத் தொகைவயின்
அதுவெ னுருபுகெடக் குகரம் வருமே.
Atu-v-eṉ vēṟṟumai y-uyartiṇai-t tokai-vayiṉ
Atu-v-e ṉ-urupu-keṭa-k kukaram varumē.

When a word in the sixth case is followed by an *uyartiṇai* noun, the suffix *atu* is replaced by *ku*.

Ex. 1. Paṭaikku-t talaivaṉ.
(Leader of the army.)
2. Nampikku-makaṉ.
(Son of Nampi.)

Note 1.—The meaning given above is that adopted by Iḷampūraṇar. According to it this sūtra enjoins that, if the noun that is qualified by a noun in the sixth case is an *uyartiṇai*, the suffix *atu* should not be used and it should be replaced by the suffix *ku*. Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār interpret the sūtra thus:—The *uyartiṇai* compound whose members have the relation denoted by the sixth case should have, when it is analysed, the suffix '*ku*' at the end of the first member and not '*atu*'. There are three defects in this interpretation:—(1) Does he mean by the word *uyartiṇai-t-tokai* a compound made up of two words, both of which are *uyartiṇai* or only the second member ? If it is the latter, what is the reason to interpret it in that manner ? (2) The word '*keṭa*' in the sūtra does not suit well. Cēṉāvaraiyar explains that *keṭa* suggests the meaning *non-appearance* instead of *disappearance.* (3) There will be no sūtra to sanction the use of the suffix '*ku*' in such expressions as *Paṭaikku-t-talaivaṉ*' '*Nampikku makaṉ*', etc. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar interprets it thus:—The suffix '*ku*' is used when a *uyartiṇai* compound is analysed, the sixth case will be used without the suffix *atu*. In the former part of the interpretation he agrees with Cēṉāvaraiyar and the example for the latter part is '*niṉ makaṉ*'. The defects in this interpretation are: (1) There is sentence-split. (2) The second part is unnecessary since there is a sūtra which enjoins that the case-suffixes may be dropped when the nouns which have them precede those which they qualify. Besides he condemns Iḷampūraṇar by saying that such expressions as '*niṉakku makaḷ*' should not be used and they should be read '*niṉakku makaḷ ākiyavaḷ*'. But there is a sentence '*pāṭiṉikku...pāṇmakaṉ*' in the 11th stanza of Puṟanāṉūṟu supporting the interpretation of Iḷampūraṇar. The commentator on Puṟanāṉūṟu also agrees with Iḷampūraṇar.

Note 2.—This sūtra deals with the contamination of the sixth case.

Note 3.—It deserves to be noted that the word '*tokai*' here does not mean *compound,* but it means *association* in the same way as the word *tokuti* in the sūtra

Iṉaitteṉa v-aṟinta ciṉai-mutaṟ kiḷavikkŭ
Viṉai-p-paṭu tokutiyi *ṉ-ummai vēṇṭum.* (Tol. Col. 33.)

100. ஆறன் மருங்கின் வாழ்ச்சிக் கிழமைக்கு
ஏழு மாகு முறைநிலத் தான.

Āṟaṉ maruṅkiṉ vālcci-k kiḻamaikkŭ
Ēlu m-āku m-uṟai-nilat t-āṉa.

The seventh case also may be used instead of the sixth case with nouns denoting the dwelling place when its relation to the noun which it qualifies is that of the land inhabited and the inhabitor.

Ex. Kāṭṭiṉkaṇ yāṉai; kāṭṭatu yāṉai.
(Elephant in the forest.)

Note—This sūtra also deals with the contamination of the sixth case.

101. அன்ன பிறவும் தொன்னெறி பிழையாது
உருபினும் பொருளினும் மெய்தடு மாறி
இருவயி னிலையும் வேற்றுமை யெல்லாம்
திரிபிட னிலவே தெரியு மோர்க்கே.
Aṉṉa piṟavum toṉṉeṟi piḻaiyātŭ
Urupiṉum poruḷiṉum mey-taṭu māṟi
Iru-vayi ṉilaiyum vēṟṟumai y-ellām
Tiripiṭa ṉ-ilavē teriyu m-ōr-k-kē.

There is no confusion in the minds of the learned with regard to the use of one case-suffix for another or of one case-suffix used in the sense of another case-suffix similar to the cases mentioned above if it is in conformity with the ancient usage.

Ex. 'Cāttaṉōṭu vekuṇṭāṉ' for cāttaṉai vekuṇṭāṉ
(He felt angry with Cāttaṉ) etc.

Note 1.—This sūtra suggests that it is impossible to give a comprehensive list of all cases of contamination.

Note 2.—The word *iruvayiṉilaiyum* is taken to mean by Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār 'in both the places where one case-suffix is used for another and where one case-suffix is used in the sense of another case-suffix'; but on the other hand Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar take it to mean 'in both the places where a case-suffix has its original meaning and that of another case-suffix'. The former interpretation is better.

Note 3.—Thus we see that the sūtras 84 to 101 deal with contamination.

Note 4.—From this sūtra it is evident that there should have been a vast literature in Tamil at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. It is unfortunate that we are not in possession of any of them.

102. உருபுதொடர்ந் தடுக்கிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி
ஒருசொன் னடைய பொருள்சென் மருங்கே.

Urupu-toṭarn t-aṭukkiya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi
Oru-coṉ ṉaṭaiya poruḷ-ceṉ maruṅkē.

Words having the same case-suffix may be treated as if they are one if the sense allows it (i.e.) they may qualify the same word.

Ex. Antaṇar nūṟkum aṟattiṟkum āti (Kuṟaḷ. 543)
(That which preceded Vedas and Dharma).

Note 1.—*Vēṟṟumai-k-kiḷavi* generally means case-suffix. Here it should be taken to denote *a word with a case-suffix.* Hence this suggests a *paribhāṣā* that wherever *case-suffix* is mentioned, *the noun with the case-suffix* should be taken if it is suggested by the context.

Note 2.—In the interpretation of this sūtra the commentators disagree. Iḷampūraṇar takes the word *urupù* in the sense *pala urupù;* but he has not explicitly stated that they should not be the same suffix though in the examples *'yāṉaiyatu kōṭṭai nuṉi-k-kaṭ kuṟaittāṉ'*, *'Tiṉaiyiṟ kiḷiyai-k-kaṭiyum'* which he has given, only different suffixes are used. Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have stated that the same suffix should be repeated as *'eṉṉoṭu niṉṉoṭu'*. The former condemns Iḷampūraṇar that in the examples given by him there is no *aṭukkù* since *nuṉikkaṇ* and *kiḷiyai* are only *aṭai-moḻi* (adjunct) to the verbs *kuṟaittāṉ* and *kaṭiyum* respectively. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar condemns Cēṉāvaraiyar that they are not *aṭai-moli*, but does not discuss whether they are *aṭukkù* or not. He states examples wherein words having the same suffix are read together, as also words with different suffixes. When we take into consideration the word *'aṭukkù'*, the interpretation of Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be sound.

103. இறுதியு மிடையு மெல்லா வுருபும்
நெறிபடு பொருள்வயி னிலவுதல் வரையார்.
Iṟutiyu m-iṭaiyu m-ellā v-urupum
Neṟi-paṭu poruḷ-vayi ṉilavutal varaiyār.

(Learned men) do not prevent words having different case-suffixes at the middle and at the end of the expression from qualifying the same (finishing) word.

Ex. (Cāttaṉatu) āṭaiyai valiyiṉāṟ kāṭṭiṉkaṇ paṟittāṉ.
(He took by force Cāttaṉ's cloth in the forest).

Note 1.—The word *urupù* in the sūtra should be taken in the same way as *vēṟṟumai-k-kiḷavi* in the preceding sūtra.

Note 2.—The meaning given above is that given by Teyvaccilaiyār. It is only in his interpretation this sūtra has a bearing to the previous sūtra and the following sūtra. The interpretation of Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is as follows:—Words with case-suffixes may stand both in the middle of *sentences* and at their end. Iḷampūraṇar does not seem to have noted the difference between *āṭai cāttaṉatù* (the cloth belongs to Cāttaṉ) and *cāttaṉatu āṭai* (Cāttaṉ's cloth). Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar have noted it. The former has suggested that a word in the seventh case may be used at the end or the middle, of a sentence only if it qualifies a verb and not if it qualifies a noun. For instance the expression '*kuṉṟattukkaṭ-kūkai*' (the owl on the rock) cannot be optionally used as '*kūkai kuṉṟattukkaṇ*'. Civañāṉamuṉivar states that this sūtra speaks of the usage in Sanskrit that no word should have its suffix dropped. Since Tolkāppiyaṉār has to write sūtras dealing only with Tamil usage, Civañāṉamuṉivar's view is not sound.

Note 3.—The sentence "Īṟu-peyarkkākum' eṉṟōtappaṭṭa urupu-tammaiyē iṟutiyum iṭaiyum niṟkum eṉa vakuttu-k-kūṟiṉāṉ eṉpatù" found in Cēṉāvaraiyam seems to be an interpolation. It is not in conformity with his statements mentioned previous to it. Civañāṉamuṉivar condemns him for this sentence.

Note 4.—If we take the interpretation of Teyvaccilaiyār here, one may question how we get sanction for the use of words with case-suffixes at the end of sentences. It is suggested by the sūtra.

Aiyuṅ kaṇṇu m-allā-p poruḷ-vayiṉ
Mey-y-urupu tokāa v-iṟuti y-āṉa. (Col. 105.)

Note 5.—In Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam the sentences 'cāttaṉatu āṭai eṉpuḷi...viṉaikkuṟippāyiṟṟù' are found. They seem to be interpolation since the same idea has been stated by the sentence '*Iṟuti-k-kaṇ niṉṟakkāl viṉaikkuṟippām eṉṟu uṇarka.*'

104. பிறிது பிறி தேற்றலு முருபுதொக வருதலும்
நெறிபட வழங்கிய வழிமருங் கென்ப.
Piṟitu-piṟi t-ēṟṟalu m-urupu-toka varutalum
Neṟi-paṭa vaḻaṅkiya vaḻi-maruṅ k-eṉpa.

It is said that usage sanctions nouns with case-suffixes qualifying different words in the middle and end of sentences and with thecase-suffixes being dropped.

Ex. Kātaliyai-k koṇṭu kavunti-y-oṭu kūṭi kōvalaṉ ceṉṟāṉ (Kōvalaṉ went taking his wife and meeting with Kavunti).

Nilaṅ kaṭantāṉ (He crossed the land).

Ciṟṟil naṟṟūṇ paṟṟi (Taking hold of the well-made pillar in the toy-house).

Note 1.—The meaning given above is that of Teyvaccilaiyār. Since the previous two sūtras have stated that words with case-suffixes qualify the same word, the former part of this sūtra enjoins that they may qualify different words. In so doing, that the case-suffixes also may be dropped is sanctioned by the second part of the sūtra.

Note 2.—The words *iṟutiyum, iṭaiyum* and *ellā vurupum* are taken here from the previous sūtra.

Note 3.—The former part of this sūtra is interpreted by Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar that one case suffix may be super-imposed to another. Though it has been said as a general case, they say that only the sixth case-suffix will be superimposed by another case-suffix, preferably an unlike suffix. Examples are *cāttaṉataṉai, cāttaṉatiaṉāl*, etc., *cāttaṉataṉatu* also may be used. Teyvaccilaiyār points out two defects in their interpretation:—(1) *Cāṭṭaṉatu* in *cāttaṉataṉai* does not mean Cāttan's, but means Cāttaṉ's object and hence it is not a noun in the sixth case, but a noun in the nominative case. (2) If, otherwise, Cāttaṉataṉai should have the same meaning as Cāttaṉai, which is not the case. Teyvaccilaiyār is undoubtedly correct in his interpretation.

Note 4.—Since the elision of the case-suffixes is said in connection with *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* in *Ecca-v-iyal*, why should the same be enjoined here? Teyvaccilaiyār answers this question by saying that the elision of case-suffix mentioned in *ecca-v-iyal* is in connection with a compound and its mention here is intended where there is no compound. For instance in the expression '*ciṟṟil naṟṟūṇ paṟṟi*', *ciṟṟil* is a noun in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped and *naṟṟūṇ* is a noun in the second case with the case-suffix dropped.

Note 5.—The word *neṟi-paṭa-vaḷaṅkiya-vaḷi-maruṅkiṉ* means 'in accepted usage'.

105. ஐயுங் கண்ணு மல்லாப் பொருள்வயின்
மெய்யுருபு தொகாஅ விறுதி யான.
Aiyuṅ kaṇṇu. m-allā-p poruḷ-vayiṉ
Mey-y-urupu tokāa v-iṟuti y-āṉa.

No case-suffix will be elided at the end of a sentence except those of the second and the seventh.

Ex. *Yām ēttukam palavē* (Pura. 10, 13.)
[We shall extol many (of your qualities)].
Nalla illa ākupa . . . akanralai nāṭē (Pura. 7, 13.)
(Let the good become extinct in the wide land.)

Note. 1.—This sūtra is important since it has given rise to the notion that the words *kāl, akam, puram, vayin, kaṭai* etc. are seventh case-suffixes. For instance in the word '*mūnralaṅ-kaṭai-y-ē*' of the first sūtra of Tolkāppiyam, the word *kaṭai* is a noun meaning place and the seventh case-suffix *kaṇ* is dropped on the strength of this sūtra, since the *root* '*al*' cannot have the seventh case-suffix with the cāriyai '*am*' in the middle. But later scholars take it to be a seventh case-suffix.

106. யாத னுருபிற் கூறிற் றாயினும்
பொருள்சென் மருங்கின் வேற்றுமை சாரும்.
Yāta n-urupir kūrir r-āyinum
Poruḷ-cen maruṅkin vērrumai cārum.

The meaning of the case-suffix can be taken in whatever form it is given expression to.

Ex. *Oru-kaṇai koṇṭu mū-v-eyil uṭarri* (Pura. 55, 2.)
(Having destroyed three forts with one arrow.)

Note. 1.—Here the word *koṇṭù* serves the purpose of the third case-suffix. Such words became to be called *collurupù*. This the only sūtra which sanctions it.

Note. 2.—Here the word *urupù* does not mean case-suffix, but *form* as in the sūtra.

A-m-mū v-urupina tōnra l-ārē (Col. 160.)

Note. 3.—The meaning given above belongs to Teyvaccilaiyār. The other three think that this sūtra means that, whatever be the case-suffix, it should be taken to have the meaning of such case-suffix as suits the context. If that is taken to be the meaning of this sūtra, it may be said that it simply repeats the idea contained in the 101st sūtra mentioned above. Hence the interpretation of Teyvaccilalyār is sound.

107. எதிர்மறுத்து மொழியினுந் தத்த மரபிற்
பொருணிலை திரியா வேற்றுமைச் சொல்லே.
Etirmaruttu moliyinun tatta marapir
Poruṇilai tiriyā vērrumai-c-collē.

Case-suffixes will have the same meaning even when they qualify a negative verb.

Ex. *Yāḻoṭuṅ koḷḷā* (Puṟa. 92, 1.)
(They cannot be in harmony with the sound produced by *yāḻ*.)

Note. 1.—This sūtra clears the doubt whether case-suffixes may be used along with negative verbs since the doer, object, instrument etc. can be had only by a positive verb.

108. குஐ ஆனென வரூஉ மிறுதி
அவ்வொடு சிவணுஞ் செய்யு ளுள்ளே.
Ku ai āṉ-eṉa varūū m-iṟuti
A-v-v-oṭu civaṇuñ ceyyu ḷ-uḷ-ḷē.

The words having suffixes *ku*, *ai* and *āṉ* at the end of a line may be appended by the particle '*a*' in verse.

Ex. *Aḷavu niṟaiyu m-eṇṇum varu-vaḻi*
Neṭu-mutal kuṟukalu m-ukaram varutaluṅ
Kaṭinilai y-iṉṟē y-āciri yarkka. (Tol. Eḻut. 390.)
Kāva lōṉa-k kaḷiṟañ cum-mē.
Aiyuṅ kaṇṇu m-allā-p poruḷ-vayiṉ
Mey-y-urupu tokāa v-iṟuti y-āṉa. (Tol. Col. 105.)

109. அஎனப் பிறத்த லஃறிணை மருங்கிற்
குவ்வும் ஐயு மில்லென மொழிப.
A-eṉa-p piṟatta l-aḵṟiṇai maruṅkiṟ
Kuvvum ai-yu m-illeṉa moḻipa.

'*Ku*' and '*ai*' cannot be appended by '*a*' if they are suffixed to *aḵṟiṇai* names.

Note. 1.—This sūtra suggests that only *āṉ* may be appended by '*a*' when it is suffixed both to *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* nouns.

110. இதன திதுவிற் றென்னுங் கிளவியும்
அதனைக் கொள்ளும் பொருள்வயி னானும்
அதனாற் செயற்படற் கொத்த கிளவியும்
முறைக்கொண் டெழுந்த பெயர்ச்சொற் கிளவியும்
பால்வரை கிளவியும் பண்பி னாக்கமுங்
காலத்தி னறியும் வேற்றுமைக் கிளவியும்
பற்றுவிடு கிளவியுந் தீர்ந்துமொழிக் கிளவியும்
அன்ன பிறவு நான்க னுருபின்
தொன்னெறி மரபின தோன்ற லாறே.
Itaṉa t-ituviṟ ṟ-eṉṉuṅ kiḷaviyum
Ataṉai-k koḷḷum poruḷ-vayi ṉ-āṉum
Ataṉāṟ ceyaṟ-paṭaṟ k-otta kiḷaviyum
Muṟai-k-koṇ ṭ-eḻunta peyar-c-coṟ kiḷaviyum
Pāl-varai kiḷaviyum paṇpi ṉ-ākkamuṅ

Kālatti ṉ-aṟiyum vēṟṟumai-k kiḷaviyum
Paṟṟu-viṭu kiḷaviyun tīrntu-moḻi-k kiḷaviyum
Aṉṉa piṟavu nāṉka-ṉ-urupiṉ
Toṉṉeṟi marapiṉa tōṉṟa ṉ-āṟē.

The fourth case is used from very ancient times in the following meanings:—in place of the sixth case in such sentences as 'this of this is of this sort'; in place of the second case in expressions like 'this will hold that; in the place of the third case in sentences like 'this is fit to be done by him'; in place of sixth case denoting relationship; in place of the fifth case denoting the exact position of land and comparison; in place of the seventh case denoting time; and before the roots *paṟṟu-viṭu* and *tīr-* which generally take the fifth case.

Ex. (1) *Yāṉaikku-k kōṭu kūritu.*
(The tusk of the elephant is sharp.)

(2) *Ivaṭku-k koḷḷum i-v-v-aṇi.*
(This ornament will suit her.)

(3) *Avaṟku-c ceyya-t-takum i-k-kāriyam.*
(This act deserves to be done by him.)

(4) *Āviṟku-k kaṉṟu.*
(The calf of the cow.)

(5) *Karuvūrkku-k kiḻakku.*
(East of Karūr.)

(6) *Cāttaṟku neṭiyaṉ.*
(He is taller than Cāttaṉ.)

(7) *Kālaikku varum.*
(He comes in the morning.)

(8) *Maṉai-vāḻkkaikku-p paṟṟu-viṭṭāṉ.*
(He extricted himself from the attachment of a house-holder.)

(9) *Ūrkku-t tīrntāṉ.*
(He removed himself from the village.)

Note 1.—Under *aṉṉa piṟavum* examples like 'kaṇpaṉi niṟuttal eḷitō...kuyil akavuṅ kural kēṭpōrkkú (Akanāṉūṟú, 97) (Is it easy to refrain from weeping for those who have the sweet notes of the cuckoo?).

Note 2.—Why should not the author have stated this sūtra after 100th sūtra, since this also deals with contamination? He may have done it. But Cēṉāvaraiyar says that sūtras from 84 to 100 dealt with the contamination of the case-suffixes used

in splitting compounds and this sūtra does not deal with the splitting of compounds.

111. எனை யுருபு மன்ன மரபின
மான மிலவே சொன்முறை யான.
Ēṉai y-urupu m-aṉṉa marapiṉa
Māṉa m-ilavē coṉ-muṟai y-āṉa.

There will be no harm if other case-suffixes also are used in a similar manner.

Ex. '*Nūlai-k kuṟṟaṅ kūṟiṉāṉ*' in place of '*nūlatu kuṟṟaṅ kuṟiṉāṉ*. (He found fault with the work.)

Note 1.—The reading in all the books at the beginning of the second line is *māṉam* and it means harm. It seems to me that *mānam* is a *tadbhava* and the Sanskrit word *māna* does not have that meaning. Hence my conjecture is that it should be *āṉam*, the *tadbhava* of *hāṉam*. One should explain the appearance of 'm' at the beginning. In sūtras like '*valleḻuttu mikiṉu māṉa m-illai* (Tol. Eḻut. 231, 247, etc.) the splitting should have been wrongly done thus—*valleḻuttu mikuṉum māṉam illai.* Since Tolkāppiyaṉār is fully conversant with Sanskrit, I am sure he would not have committed this mistake. In later Tamil lexicons like '*Cūḍāmaṇi*' the word *mānam* has been given the meaning *harm*.

112. வினையே செய்வது செயப்படு பொருளே
நிலனே காலங் கருவி யென்ற
இன்னதற் கிதுபய னாக வென்னும்
அன்ன மரபி னிரண்டொடுந் தொகைஇ
ஆயெட் டென்ப தொழின்முத னிலையே.
Viṉaiyē ceyvatu ceyappaṭu poruḷ-ē
Nilaṉ-ē kālaṅ karuvi y-eṉṟā
Iṉṉataṟ k-itu-paya ṉ-āka v-eṉṉum
Aṉṉa marapi ṉ-iraṇṭoṭun tokaii
Ā-y-eṭ ṭ-eṉpa toḻiṉ-muta ṉilaiyē.

(Learned men) say that there are eight things that should precede an action:—*kṛti* (effort within the body of the doer), doer, object, place, time, instrument, the recipent and the purpose of doing.

Note 1.—The word *viṉai* in this sūtra means *kṛti* and not *kriyā*. But Cēṉāvaraiyar mistakes *viṉai* to mean *kriyā;* this is unsound since *kriyā* cannot precede *kriyā*. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar takes *viṉai* to mean the verbal roots like *uṇ*, *tiṉ* etc.; this is also

unsound since the verbal roots are not one of the requisites for an action to take place.

Note. 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes *tolin̲-mutan̲ilai* to mean *kārakam*. Since *vin̲ai* is not a *kārakam*, this interpretation is unsound.

Note. 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār states that the fifth case meaning is not mentioned here perhaps with the idea that it is not a *kārakam*; but it seems to be that the word *nilan̲* may stand both for the seventh case meaning and as the fifth case meaning.

Note 4.—The word *mutan̲ilai* means 'that which precedes' and hence 'cause'.

Note 5.—The mention of '*in̲n̲atar̲kŭ*' and '*itu payan̲ āka*' as a group separated from '*vin̲ai*', '*ceyvatŭ*', '*ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ*', '*nilan̲*', '*kālam*' and '*karuvi*' is due to the fact that the former group is not so important as the latter.

Note 6.—Cēn̲āvaraiyar says that, though the case, meanings have been mentioned in *vēr̲r̲umaiyiyal*, this sūtra is necessary since here the word *ceyappaṭuporuḷ* gives the meaning of the second case in a comprehensive manner, *karuvi* includes *ētŭ*, *kālam* includes *vin̲ai-cey-y-iṭam* and it has newly mentioned *vin̲ai*. But it seems to me that, had it not been for this sūtra, 71st sūtra cannot be taken to mention the object as the meaning of the second case; besides this sūtra serves as a sort of introduction to the 114th sūtra.

113. அவைதாம்
வழங்கியன் மருங்கிற் குன்றுவ குன்றும்.
Avai-tām
Valaṅkiyan̲ maruṅkir̲ kun̲r̲uva kun̲r̲um.

Some of them may not be used in actual usage.

Note 1.—This sūtra is important since, otherwise, it may be taken that all the eight mentioned in the previous sūtra should be mentioned in a sentence.

114. முதலிற் கூறுஞ் சினையறி கிளவியுஞ்
சினையிற் கூறு முதலறி கிளவியும்
பிறந்தவழிக் கூறலும் பண்புகொள் பெயரும்
இயன்றது மொழிதலு மிருபெய ரொட்டும்
வினைமுத லுரைக்குங் கிளவியொடு தொகைஇ
அனையமர பினவே யாகுபெயர்க் கிளவி.
Mutalir̲ kūr̲uñ cin̲ai-y-ar̲i kiḷaviyuñ
Cin̲ai-y-ir̲ kūr̲u mutal-ar̲i kiḷaviyum

Piranta-vali-k kūralum paṇpu-koḷ peyarum
Iyanratu molitalu m-irupeya r-oṭṭum
Viṉai-muta l-uraikkuṅ kiḷaviyotu tokaii
Aṉaiya-mara piṉavē y-ākupeyar-k kiḷavi.

Ākupeyar or metonymy is of the following kinds:—whole is put for the part, part for the whole, the place of production for the product, quality for the object possessing it, cause for effect, *irupeyar-oṭṭu* or the compound made up of two words of which the second member denotes a part and the first an object similar to it or its action, the doer for the object done etc.

(1) *Teṅku tiṉṟāṉ.*
(He ate the cocoanut.)

Teṅku generally means 'cocoanut tree'. Here it means cocoanut fruit.

(2) *Paṉi-vār cimaiyuṅ kāṉam pōki* (Maturaikkāñci, 148.)
(Having traversed through the forests full of mountains covered with snow).

Cimaiyam which generally means 'peak' denotes here 'mountains having peaks.'

(3) *Cıl-pūṅ-kaliṅkattaḷ* (Kalittokai. 56.)
(She wears the cloth made in Kaliṅga which has a few flowers).

(4) *Muruku uṟaḻa-t talai-c-ceṉṟu* (Maturaikkāñci, 181.)
(Having gone against (the enemies) like *Murukaṉ*.

Here the quality *Muruku* is put for *Murukaṉ*.

(5) *I-k-kuṭam poṉ.*
(This pot is gold.)

Here the word *poṉ* is put for the object made of *poṉ*.

(6) (a) *Tuṭi-y-iṭai vantāḷ.*
(The woman, having her waist like *tuṭi*, came.)

(b) *Īr-ōti y-eṉ-ṟōḻiyum varumē* (Akanāṉūṟu 107.)
(My friend also who has her hair cool comes.)

(7) *Tiruvaḷḷuvar paṭi.*
(Read the Kuṟaḷ written by Tiruvaḷḷuvar).

Note 1.—Some may question the need of this sūtra here. But from the 112nd sūtra the sentences like *teṅku tiṉṟāṉ*, may be viewed as incorrect since *teṅku* is not any one of the eight mentioned above. But since such sentences have come in vogue, their usage must receive the sanction of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Hence he has read this sūtra here.

Note. 2—As regards *iru-peyar-oṭṭu* there is difference of opinion among commentators. Iḷampūraṉar and Cēṉāvaraiyar feel that it is identical with *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai;* Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar takes compounds like *makkaṭ-cuṭṭu* in Tol. col. i where the second member denotes by metonymy *cuṭṭappaṭum-poruḷ*, as *iru-peyar-oṭṭu*. Civañāṉamuṉivar agrees with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. Teyvaccilaiyār, on the other hand, takes such instances like *tuṭi-y-iṭai* and *tāḻ-kuḻal* as are taken by others as *uvama-t-tokai-p-puṟattu-p-piṟanta-v-aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* and *viṉai-t-tokai-p--puṟattu-p-piṟanta-v-aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* and states two reasons for his view:—(1) Tolkāppiyaṉār has not stated in 418th sūtra *uvama-t-tokai-p-puṟattu-p-piṟanta-v-aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* and *viṉai-t-tokai-p-puṟattu-p-piṟanta-v-aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* and (2) the second member of the compound here is connected with the whole which the compound denotes, while that of *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* is not connected with it. Teyvaccilaiyār's opinion seems to agree with Tolkāppiyaṉār.

Note 3.—Since in the opinion of Cēṉāvaraiyar, *irupeyar-oṭṭu* and *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* are identical, he raises the question that this need not be mentioned here since *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* is treated in *ecca-v-iyal* and answers it thus:—in the section on compounds he mentioned *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* and in the section dealing with nouns as *iyaṟ-peyar* and *āku-peyar* he has mentioned *iru-peyar-oṭṭu* here. The reason does not seem to be sound.

Note 4.—Under *viṉai-mutal-uraikkuṅ-kiḷavi*, Iḷampūraṇar has given *Tolkāppiyam, Kapilam* as examples. Since they are different from the words *Tolkāppiyaṉ* and *Kapilaṉ* Cēṉāvaraiyar condemns Iḷampūraṇar. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar cites under this sūtra the example '*I-v-vāṭai kōlikaṉ*' given by Cēṉāvaraiyar and under the sūtra '*kiḷanta v-alla vēṟu-piṟa tōṉṟinum*'' (Tol. Col. 117) the examples '*Tolkāppiyam*' and '*Kapilam*'. This is one of the instances wherein Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar sides both with Iḷampūraṇar and Cēṉāvaraiyar when both of them differ in their opinion.

Note 5.—In Cēṉāvaraiyam the sentence '*Āku-peyar eḻuvāy-vēṟṟumai-mayakkam-ātalāṉ īṇṭu kūṟiṉār-eṉṟāṟāl Uṟaiyāciriyar-eṉiṉ*' is found. This sentence is not found in the Namasivaya Mudaliyar's Iḷampūraṇam edition. But Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar states at the last sūtra of this chapter '*I-v-v-āku-peyarkaḷ eḻuvāy-vēṟṟumai mayakkam-eṉṟu uṇarka*'. If he had stated this after meeting the objections raised by Cēṉāvaraiyar against Iḷampūraṇar, it would have been correct.

115. அவைதாம்
தத்தம் பொருள்வயிற் றம்மொடு சிவணலும்
ஒப்பில் வழியாற் பிறிதுபொருள் சுட்டலும்
அப்பண் பினவே நுவலுங் காலை
வேற்றுமை மருங்கிற் போற்றல் வேண்டும்.
Avaitām
Tattam poruḷ-vayiṟ ṟammoṭu civaṇalum
Oppil vaḻiyāṟ piṟitu-poruḷ cuṭṭalum
A-p-paṇ piṉavē nuvaluṅ kālai
vēṟṟumai maruṅkiṟ pōṟṟal vēṇṭum.

They are of two kinds; one denoting those that are connected with them and the other denoting those that are not connected with them. If there is any deviation in the literature, they should be taken into account.

Note.—This sūtra deals with another kind of classification of *ākupeyar*. I think that '*tattam--poruḷ-vayiṟ-ṟammoṭu civaṇal*' and *Ajahallakṣaṇā* are identical and *oppil-vaḻiyāṟ-piṟitu-poruḷ-cuṭṭal* and *Jahallakṣaṇā* are identical. The fourth line, in my opinion should be a different sūtra dealing with *Jahad-agahal-lakṣanā*. Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar take it as a separate sūtra, but they interpret *vēṟṟumai* as *case-suffix* instead of *deviation*. Teyvaccilaiyār takes all the four lines as one sūtra and states that *ākupeyar* is of *four* kinds:—*tattam-poruḷ-vayiṟ-civaṇal, tammoṭu civaṇal, oppil-vaḻiyāṟ-cuṭṭal* and *piṟitu-poruḷ-cuṭṭal* and interprets *vēṟṟumai* to be the *case-suffix*. Cēṉāvaraiyar also takes all the four lines into one sūtra and takes *a-p pāṇpiṉavē* to be the adjunct of *vēṟṟumai*.

116. அளவு நிறையு மவற்றொடு கொள்வழி
உளவென மொழிப வுணர்ந்திசி னோரே.
Aḷavu niṟaiyu m-avaṟṟoṭu kol-vaḻi
Uḷa-v-eṉa moḻipa v-uṇarntici ṉōrē.

Learned men say that words denoting measures and weights are taken with them.

Ex. (1) *Kuṟuṇi koṭu.*
[Give me a *kuṟuṇi* (four measures of corn)].

(2) *Oru cēr koṭu.*
[Give me one seer (of oil, etc.)].

Note 1.—These are cases of *jahad-agahal-lakṣaṇā*. In order to serve as an introduction to this I think we should take the fourth line of the previous sūtra as a separate one.

Note 2.—Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar think that the words denoting numbers are not *ākupeyar*; they have said so perhaps because similar words in Sanskrit denote both numbers and numerical objects. Civañāṉamuṉivar condemns them. I agree with Civañāṉamuṉivar.

117. கிளந்த வல்ல வேறுபிற தோன்றினுங்
கிளந்தவற் றியலா னுணர்ந்தனர் கொளலே.
Kiḷanta v-alla vēṟu-piṟa tōṉṟiṉuṅ
Kiḷantavar ṟiyalā ṉ-uṇarntaṉar koḷalē.

If, anything not mentioned here appears in literature, it should be taken into account on the lines chalked above.

Ex. *yāḻ kēṭṭāṉ.*
(He listened to the notes of *yāḻ*)
(Here the instrument *yāḻ* is put for its notes.)
Yāṉai vantāṉ.
(Elephant-like person came.)
(Here the word *yāṉai* refers to a person resembling it.)

Note—This sūtra suggests that the kinds of metonymy are so varied that they have not been mentioned in an exhaustive manner in the 114th sūtra.

Vēṟṟumai-mayaṅkiyal ends.